



DK
130
K84
1921

CORNELL
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY



FROM

The Estate of
Preserved Smith



EX
LIBRIS

PRESERVED SMITH

Date Due

OCT 16 1950

~~ED 112704~~

~~MAY 27 1964 H O~~

~~OCT 26 2000~~

CORNELL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY



3 1924 103 072 843



Cornell University
Library

The original of this book is in
the Cornell University Library.

There are no known copyright restrictions in
the United States on the use of the text.

**SCENES FROM THE COURT
OF PETER THE GREAT**

HISTORICAL MINIATURES

A SERIES OF MONOGRAPHS

Edited by Dr. F. L. Glaser

VOL. I—SCENES FROM THE COURT OF PETER THE GREAT

Based on the Latin Diary of F. Korb, a secretary of the Austrian Legation at the Court of Peter the Great.

VOL. II—POPE ALEXANDER VI AND HIS COURT

Based on the Diary of Johannes Burchardus — *In preparation.*

Scenes from the Court of Peter the Great

Based on the Latin Diary of *John G. Korb*,
a Secretary of the Austrian Legation
at the Court of Peter the Great

Edited by
DR. F. L. GLASER

NICHOLAS L. BROWN
NEW YORK MCMXXI

8
CORNELL
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

A 716735

COPYRIGHT, 1921

BY

NICHOLAS L. BROWN

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Two years before the birth of Peter Alexiewicz, better known to the world as Peter the Great and first Emperor of Russia, the ancient Kremlin of Moscow beheld a strange sight. Young maidens, the loveliest of the realm, drawn from every province and every class, entered the palace of the Czar on a day appointed. Assembled there in the cramped quarters allotted for their use, they spent their time in the manner of Muscovite womanhood of that age, their cloistered existence varied by some manual task relieved with song and tale. At nightfall the weary hours were forgotten and tense expectancy reigned, for every maiden knew that she was a pawn in a lottery and that the prize was supreme rank. When darkness came figures passed through the dormitories exchanging significant words and gestures as they examined the sleepers. The Czar Alexis Mihailowicz himself accompanied by his doctor was seeking a wife among these unknown beauties, "the woman," as the time-honored formula had it, "worthy to be the Sovereign's delight," perchance the daughter of the meanest serf who might at his word become the Czarina of all the Russias.

This custom, borrowed like so many other Russian traditions from the Byzantines, and maintained through centuries, had proved a useful device to escape the jealousy of noble families at home and the humiliation of rejection by foreign dynasties, by no means eager at that time to bestow their princesses upon the uncouth Czars of Russia. Thus the custom had become definitely established and preceded the betrothal of every Czar. The minutiae of etiquette were strictly observed in this proceeding. Ladies and gentlemen of the court were deputed to examine the young girls who journeyed to Moscow in answer to the call of the Czar. Their inspection was exacting and severe, extending to the most intimate details, and resulted in the selection of the finest specimen for presentation to the Czar.

This time, however, in 1670, the hopes of the fair candidates were doomed to disappointment, for the Czar's choice had already been made before their arrival in the Kremlin. Alexis, now thirty-eight years of age, had lost his first wife, of the family of Miloslavski, three years before. Of the five sons and eight daughters whom she had borne him three sons were already dead and two were sickly. A second marriage was therefore desirable. Alexis, while concerned with this serious question, met in the house of his minister, Artamon Matveieff, a beautiful brunette, Nathalia Nariskine, who had been brought up there in the atmosphere of western European cul-

ture and freedom. Alexis' choice fell upon Nathalia, but before she could become his second wife she was compelled to undergo the traditional ordeal of the Kremlin.

Of this marriage Peter I., called "the Great," was born on June 9 (N. S.), 1672, although no less an authority than Peter himself has thrown doubt on his paternity. Contrary to all the legends of his extraordinary precocity, history records that Peter was a singularly backward child. He was over two years old when he was weaned, and in his eleventh year still enjoyed playing with wooden horses. At that age he had barely learned to spell out the religious books on which the children of the Czars were brought up. During his early years Peter was surrounded by intrigues and rebellions, and his election as Czar in 1682 under the regency of his half-sister Sophia was but a signal for a fresh revolt. More than once he had barely eluded the grasp of death. One of his uncles was dragged from the palace and killed before his eyes. Artamon Matveieff was hacked to pieces as he caught the sleeve of the little Czar in a vain endeavor to find protection from a savage mob. It is to such experiences, which played havoc with the nerves of the young boy, that the convulsions may be ascribed from which Peter suffered in later years.

When Sophia attempted in 1689 to usurp the title and power of autocrat, Peter, now seventeen,

supported by the foreign element, openly broke with her, deprived her of her power and consigned her to the safe isolation of a nunnery. This coup, while successful, did not greatly enhance the authority of the young Czar, who postponed a decisive conflict with the reactionary element and frequented the society of foreigners. Eager for information and susceptible to new impressions he already showed indications of that energy and elasticity of mind which later distinguished him. This was the period of Peter's first marriage with Eudoxia Lapukine whom he deserted again soon afterward. His chief associates at this time were François Lefort, a clever and jovial adventurer of French-Swiss extraction, and the Scotch royalist refugee Patrick Gordon. From them he learned the methods of European tactics and strategy, and soon felt sufficient confidence to undertake campaigns in Southern Russia. These expeditions were under the direction of his military mentors, but their plans were subject to the approval of the Bombardier of the Preobrashensky regiment, none other than Peter himself, who had entered his own army in the lowest rank.

In the spring of 1697 Peter left Russia for western Europe with a mission whose ostensible purpose was the consolidation of alliances against the Turks but whose real aim was to afford Peter an opportunity to observe conditions in western Europe, and satisfy his thirst for practical knowledge. At

Koenigsberg he learned the science of gunnery from the famous engineer Streitner of Sternfeld. At Leyden he made the acquaintance of the celebrated anatomist Boerhove. While residing in Holland he studied mathematics and astronomy, the science of fortification and even dentistry. But ship-building was now as ever his main passion. In his earlier years he had superintended the construction of ships on a little lake near Moscow, participating in the work himself. Now he studied shipbuilding in Holland and was proud of his certificate of proficiency in naval architecture.

Peter's foreign tour was brought to an abrupt conclusion after an absence of a year and a half. At the moment that he was making preparations to go to Venice he was suddenly recalled to his capital by the revolt of the Strelitz or sharpshooters, a mercenary bodyguard organized by Ivan the Terrible. Although the rebellion never seriously threatened Peter's throne and the revolting regiments were beaten on their approach to Moscow within an hour's time by the Czar's loyal army, of which only one man was mortally wounded, the captive rebels were treated with unheard-of cruelty. From the middle of September to the end of October, 1698, banquets and drinking bouts alternated with torturings and executions in which the Czar and his favorites played the parts of inquisitors and headsmen. At least a thousand of the captive Strelitz were done to

death during those two months with every refinement of cruelty, and the hideous tragedy reached its climax on October 17th when the Czar, surveying the scene on horseback, commanded his favorites and ministers to decapitate a number of the unfortunates who had already been mangled by repeated tortures.

The aim of Peter, however, was not alone to wreak vengeance on traitors but to frighten the masses of the people who sympathized with them as upholders of Muscovite traditions against the reforms and the introduction of western European customs which Peter undertook with great vigor after his return, starting immediately with cutting off the beards and long frocks of his subjects. The terrified people submitted to him grudgingly, and the last feeble attempt at revolt, which was connected with the name of Alexius Petrowicz, Peter's son by his marriage with Eudoxia, was suppressed by the Czar with even greater cruelty which included the torturing to death of Alexius. Historians have not unjustly commented that Peter the Great deliberately cemented the foundations of his Empire with the blood of his son.

Three years after the death of his son Peter was acclaimed as "the Father of the Fatherland, Peter the Great and Emperor of All Russia" at the celebration of the peace of Nystadt by which Sweden surrendered the hegemony of the north to Russia. Thus ended Peter's struggle with one of the strong-

est military powers of Europe. He had entered the conflict with an army which firmly believed that every Swedish soldier had a devil behind him to point his musket and make him invulnerable, a superstition which made the Russian soldiers run in numbers at the first sight of a handful of Swedes. Such were the men Peter led to victory and such was the enemy he taught them to beat.

His labors, however, as well as his excesses had already undermined his iron constitution and though not yet fifty-three years of age, he was already an old man. During the summer of 1724 the state of Peter's health caused grave anxiety and in autumn he had another violent attack of his paroxysms. Ignoring the advice of his physicians he undertook an arduous tour of inspection and visited some of his iron mines, even digging out with his own hands a piece of iron ore weighing 120 pounds. In the beginning of November, at Lakhta, seeing a boat grounded on a shoal, loaded with soldiers in imminent danger of being drowned, he plunged into the water to go to their rescue and stayed immersed for a considerable time. He returned to St. Petersburg dangerously ill and after a protracted and painful agony he died on the evening of February 8 (N. S.), 1725, in the arms of his second wife, the Empress Catherine. Of his last message scribbled on a sheet of paper two words only were legible: "Forgive everything."

The importance of the "Diary" published in this volume may be estimated from the foregoing sketch of Peter's life. Johann Georg Korb, the author, was the secretary to the Austrian Envoy who was sent by the Emperor Leopold I. to Moscow with the avowed purpose of reporting on the operations of the Russian armies against the Turks, but with the real mission of intervening on behalf of the Jesuit missionaries in Russia. The Austrian Envoy started on his journey on the 10th of January 1698, arrived on the 29th of April, and left Moscow again more than a year later. The observations of the secretary thus cover a period embracing the second half of 1698 and the earlier part of 1699 and reveal to us the real reign of Peter. A few months after the arrival of the Austrian Envoy in Moscow the young Czar returned from his foreign tour, which had been interrupted by the revolt of the Strelitz, to sit in judgment on this last serious rebellion against him and to start immediately afterwards on his rude regime of reckless reforms of which we find traces on almost every page of this diary.

The young official who noted down these impressions during a year's residence in Moscow was scarcely two years older than the Czar, having been born in 1670, but his insight into the Czar's character is remarkable, and we find here and there the most curious observations of the Czar's complex character,—corroborated by the testimony of other

eyewitnesses in later years. For among all the peculiar personalities which have been called upon to rule over human beings Peter was one of the most abnormal and remarkable. Neuropathic, if not by inheritance then through the experiences of his early youth, Peter spent his brief maturity between restless work and reckless excesses of so violent a character that his companions of a weaker constitution succumbed at an earlier age than he. His gigantic deformity of character alone in fact would be sufficient to earn for Peter the title of "the Great." The personality of this astonishing man was composed of many elements, horny-handed woodcutter, unrivalled organizer, madman in his pleasures and criminal in his passions. Wastefulness and stinginess were strangely combined in him. For many years he elected to live in a low wooden cottage at Preobashensko while his favorites were building palaces for themselves, and he would use the mathematical instruments, which never left his person, to measure the daily consumption of cheese at his table, while to compensate for the poor wages of his cook he turned the meals to which he invited his friends into picnics at a ducat a head.

In his intercourse with foreign diplomats he worked on a system of his own, combining Slavie shrewdness with Oriental cunning. He threw the negotiators off their guard in a manner peculiar to himself by unexpected acts of familiarity or rude-

ness, by sudden caresses or insults. He would interrupt a speaker by kissing him on the brow, he would make long speeches, intended for the gallery, of which his hearer could not understand a word, and would then dismiss them before they had time to ask for an explanation.

Other peculiarities of Peter's were no less bizarre. After his return from Holland he always carried a case of surgical instruments about with him, and never let slip an opportunity of using them, to the bad fortune of his patients. A bag full of teeth extracted by him was preserved until recently in the Museum of Arts at Petrograd. Many of them are in perfect condition and were so when he extracted them. His valet complained to him one day that his wife, under the pretext of a bad tooth, had long refused to perform her conjugal duties. Peter sent for the unfortunate lady, operated on her then and there in spite of her tears and screams, and warned her that if she continued obdurate he would pull out every tooth in her two jaws. His own wife, later the Empress Catherine I., fared little better. During a visit to a museum in her company he was attracted to a figure of a pagan god, one of those with which the Greeks and Romans frequently adorned the nuptial chamber. Peter beckoned to his wife and commanded her to kiss the figure. When she objected he shouted, "Kop ab!" (Head off!) the implication of which was unmistakeable. He

then requested that the object kissed by the Czarina should be presented to him. His curiosity often assumed strange forms. When the Czarina, Martha Apraxin, Theodore's widow, died in 1715 at the age of fifty-one, he insisted on performing the autopsy upon the corpse with his own hands.

Extraordinary as was his conduct in serious matters, he was a complete buffoon in his pleasures. The "jolly company" of his earlier years he organized into a sort of mock hierarchy in whose society he found relief from his overstrained nerves in amusements which inevitably degenerated into orgies. Masquerades were a favorite pastime at the courts of that period, but Peter's feasts with sham cardinals and mock monks where crosses made of long Dutch pipes were worshipped and the nuptials of old men and women made drunk were celebrated in public, were entirely of his own invention. Here his proneness to exaggeration displayed itself without inhibition, and he lavished on all sides the most absurd drolleries, the most startling obscenities and unheard-of profanities. His friend, Peter Ivanowicz Boutourlin, he appointed Archbishop of St. Petersburg "in the diocese of drunkards, gluttons and madmen." Others he called kings and kaisers, while he himself in his favorite costume as a Dutch sailor marched on beating a drum in the drunken procession.

Yet even in his orgies Peter showed a spark of

logic. The church had dared to resist his reforms, the church must therefore be degraded in order that the authority of the Czar should be unchallenged. And as the Bourbons in France, following the ingenious plan of Richelieu, demoralized their restive aristocracy with the frivolities of Versailles, so Peter, pursuing a less elegant tradition, summoned his boyars to the debauches of the pothouse, where in drinking bouts of days' duration he never forgot to carry tablets to note down suspicious utterances dropped by wine-loosened tongues.

This not wholly unsophisticated joy in buffoonery and harlequinade was together with his satanic cruelty one of the most strongly marked features of Peter's character. None but a madman could have carried his former mistress in his own arms to the scaffold, as Peter did, kissing her fainting form as her head was laid on the block, taking up the head again after it had fallen, and exhibiting to his entourage the severed veins and vertebrae, then kissing it again, crossing himself and departing. Still the same man who blithely sent favorites to torture chamber and scaffold could bear with patience the blows of an exasperated cook whom he had infuriated by some practical joke.

The work which Peter accomplished was as composite as his personality. He grafted European civilization on to the old Russian culture, though branches and trunk were not well fitted. He left a

Dutch fleet, a German army, and a Swedish administration. The fear haunted him, that his work might not survive him, for with all his perversity his mind was clear, penetrating, and exact, going to the point unhesitatingly and unswervingly like a sharp tool wielded by a sure hand.

Peter, though certainly no genius, possessed a remarkable ingenuity and his abnormally restless brain expressed itself in an atmosphere of the most absolute power. With unmistakable traits of greatness he combined features of extreme vulgarity. His rustic humor and childish gayety was transformed on the moment into savagery at the slightest provocation. He superintended his household like a small shopkeeper, thrashed his wife like a peasant, and sought his pleasures like a brawler.

All these characteristics of the full grown man we find indicated in the younger Peter depicted by our diarist. Peter's energy in extinguishing a fire is mentioned there as well as his efficiency in executing a criminal with his own hand. Nor is his aptitude overlooked for appealing to the lowest instincts of the mob. Even minor traits are not omitted. When Peter visited England William III. complained that the Czar seemed quite indifferent to the beauties of architecture and gardening; and John Evelyn spoke regretfully of certain holly hedges of his own planting at Sayes court after Peter had sojourned there for a few months in 1698, mourning "his now ruined

garden, thanks to the Czar of Muscovy." The same heedlessness of Peter about horticulture is mentioned by Korb in his entry of April 5th, 1699. He remarks also the dirtiness of the Czar's silver plate, a fact confirmed by later diplomatic reports which explain that the vessels were not cleaned because it had been discovered that they lost weight thereby.

This diary, though published in Latin and therefore accessible only to a comparatively small circle of readers, led to serious friction between the Russian and Austrian courts until the Emperor Leopold I. gave permission that the unsold copies of the diary were to be destroyed. Even then the agents of the Czar were active in buying up every available copy and one was publicly burned by the executioner in Moscow. The publication of the diary made the Austrian envoy, Baron de Guarient, *persona non grata*, and eliminated him from a later mission to Moscow. The author, Korb, lived unharmed until his death in 1741 as a Privy Councilor and Knight in the Bavarian service. Outside of Russia the diary was soon recognized as one of the most important sources of Russian history of that period. It has been extensively copied for instance in Eléazar de Mauvillon's "Histoire de Pierre I." which appeared in 1742. But the persecution by Peter soon made it a very rare work. It is estimated that there are to-day scarcely more than ten copies existing, most of them being in the possession of famous li-

braries. There are copies in the British Museum and the former Imperial Library in Vienna. Strangely enough the copy in the National Library in Berlin was formerly the property of the same Baron Muenchhausen to whom are ascribed the well known tales. Only one copy of the Latin original is held in the western hemisphere. It is in the possession of the Congressional Library in Washington, D. C.

The earliest translations of this diary from the original Latin text were done in Russian, one for Peter himself, which is full of omissions and misunderstandings. No German translation has ever been undertaken and in French there exists only that part of the diary dealing with the revolt of the Strelitz. The English version on which the following pages are based is the only English translation, and was made by Count Macdonnell in the middle of the nineteenth century. It was published in London in 1863 and has also become comparatively rare. Charles Macdonnell, an Austrian Count, was descended from the ancient Macdonnells of Antrim, a leading branch of the Scottish clan Donnell, but he had suffered financial reverses and lived abroad.

In the preface to his translation Count Macdonnell gives a picturesque account of the circumstances under which he came to make it:

“Some few summers ago the translator happened to pass a *villeggiatura* at Frascati, in the neighbor-

hood of Rome, a solitary bird of passage left behind after the season of the great flight northwards: Henry, Cardinal of York, the last Prince of the Royal Stuarts, who had struck medals upon Charles Edward's death with the royal titles of "Henry IX. by the Grace of God, but not by will of men, King of England, France, Scotland, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith," was at one time Bishop of Frascati, and Frascati was his favorite residence even after he was translated to another see. At his death he bequeathed his library to the College in that town, directing that it should be always accessible to the public for study. Attracted by its connection with the last of that royal race, the translator obtained access to its shelves. The sultry heat of a Roman summer rendered out-of door excursions in that beautiful neighborhood impossible, except in the early morning and in the evenings. Much of his time was spent, in consequence, in poring over the dusty tomes in the Stuart library. There he discovered a copy of this rare and curious Diary; and there, seated day after day in the identical arm-chair in which — so said the living local tradition — fifty years previously, the crownless heir of three kingdoms was wont to sit and read, the translation was undertaken and half accomplished. The rest was completed in the autumn of the following year in Vienna."

Count Macdonnell points out his efforts to render as literally as possible into English the "slovenly

Latin" of the German diplomat, thus endeavoring to make this translation as faithful as possible to the original. His translation is fairly complete except for a few slight omissions made as a concession to the mid-Victorian taste of his time.

In this edition no effort has been made to reproduce the diary in full as that would involve the inclusion of a large amount of redundant and uninteresting matter, important only to the meticulous savant. The editor has rather aimed at a careful selection of those portions of the work which are important and significant and those which reveal the personality of Peter the Man whose human interest will outlive the political power of the Romanoff dynasty. For it is the intention of this volume as of the whole series to meet the needs less of those who write history than of those who read it.

F. L. GLASER.

New York, August, 1920.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	vii
I THE ENTRY INTO MOSCOW	1
II FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF MOSCOW	7
III REVOLT OF THE STRELITZ	15
IV RETURN OF THE CZAR	31
V STUBBORNNESS OF THE MUSCOVITES UNDER TORTURE	49
VI PUNISHMENT OF THE STRELITZ	53
VII LIFE AT THE CZAR'S COURT	75
VIII A WINTER IN MOSCOW	95
IX DIPLOMATIC INCIDENTS	131
X RETURN OF THE IMPERIAL LEGATION FROM MUSCOVY TO VIENNA	159
APPENDIX	165

SCENES FROM THE COURT OF PETER THE GREAT

I

THE ENTRY INTO MOSCOW

29th April, 1698.—About seven in the morning we moved off from Mammonoff towards Moscow. After two miles we saw the monastery of nuns, situated to the right. Here Sophia¹ is shut up and always strictly watched by the authorities for having several times conspired with rebels against her most serene brother the Czar. As we approached Moscow a number of Muscovites and foreigners rode out on horseback to meet us, to see the fashion of our coaches and our dress. The nearer we approached the city, the more our road and quiet were interrupted. It is certainly a marvelous fashion, which made the *pristaw*² very fussy — orders now to go slow, now to press on, puzzled and wearied the good man exceedingly. In approaching and meeting the Czar's carriage the coachman has need of a

¹ See page 58.

² A police official.

2 COURT OF PETER THE GREAT

certain practice and dexterity to keep always on the right hand, which the Muscovites try every possible *ruse* to get. The master of the horse headed the whole procession of our Lord Envoy, and deserved no little praise for never turning to the left, always keeping the right, paying no attention to the admonition of the *pristaw*, the interpreter, and others, to go to the left, even though some of them mendaciously told him that such were the Lord Envoy's orders. This had always been a point of great difficulty at the reception of ambassadors, the Muscovites having the ambition to pretend to this exceedingly empty prerogative. The controversy at times led to disputes and altercations, neither willing to move first, and each most sharply struggling to get the post of honor. There was no such dispute at our reception, for the Muscovite commissary, waiving all dispute about this prerogative, was the first to get down from his coach, went to meet the Lord Envoy, and in the coach and elsewhere modestly gave the first place to the Lord Envoy, and gave no sign of the arrogance of a former time. We were all amazed at this sudden national metamorphosis, and the Lord Envoy thanked his stars that he was the first to find dormant and almost extinct those controversies, the obstinate defense of which had caused so much trouble to all who had preceded him in a similar capacity.

As long as the most auspicious reign of his present

majesty the Czar lasts, I do not think that this people will relapse into such pretensions. Horses from the stables of his majesty the Czar were assigned to the embassy officials, with saddles and trappings adorned in the richest way with embroidery of gold and gems: grooms in handsome red tunics held them to be mounted. The entry itself was splendidly grand and truly magnificent.

The procession was preceded by four companies of soldiers led by some one belonging to the Chancery.

Then followed the Lord Envoy's master of the horses, and after him four horses, led by servants. The trappings of these horses, each of different colored silk, were exceedingly handsome.

Came the Lord Envoy's officials, mounted upon the horses, with trappings glittering with gold and silver, and head-gear of variegated plumes. Along with them rode several of the Czar's nobility.

In the Czar's carriage, which was gilt all over and drawn by six white horses, came the Lord Envoy with the Czar's commissary and an interpreter.

The private carriage of the Lord Envoy, very handsomely adorned with painting, gilding, and silk of various colors, drawn by six splendid dark brown horses. On either side of the carriage walked eight footmen in excessively rich livery.

The first coach for the officials, ornamented in the same manner. The second coach for the officials (in

4 COURT OF PETER THE GREAT

which sat the three missionaries), drawn by six horses, as were also the traveling carriage and the rest.

Then came the Lord Envoy's horses, which had all been brought from Vienna. Four more companies of soldiers closed the procession.

Finally, about fifty Muscovite vehicles, conveying the Lord Envoy's goods and baggage, were drawn to the houses which were to be in readiness for our lodging. An immense multitude crowded the streets on either side; and as our procession was conducted across the stone bridge and through the Czar's castle, called the Kremlin, the Czarina and several other princesses of the blood were looking out of their windows. I think it worthy to be particularly remarked that it is not always ambassadors are allowed to enter Moscow by the stone bridge and the Czar's castle of the Kremlin;—nay, at first another route was appointed, by which we should have had to cross the river on a floating bridge, but the Lord Envoy having remonstrated, obtained his wishes. The rich glitter of the equipages, the perfect elegance of fashion of the Lord Envoy and all his suite, induced the Czarina and many other princesses to look out upon the scene. To gratify their curiosity, the solemn entry, contrary to the established custom, was allowed to take place through the Czar's very fortress of the Kremlin: such a prodigy of innovation long kept not only the Muscovites but also the royal

and other foreign ministers in amazement. Before we reached the houses destined for our lodging, the *pristaw* conducted the Lord Envoy through the apartments and bed-rooms destined for his own accommodation: the vice-master of the horse to the Czar delivered the keys. But the place was quite too small to lodge such a number of men and horses, and drew from the Lord Envoy a protest that they must find him more commodious lodgings, saying that he knew not how he could keep his people and horses in such narrow quarters. Though the *pristaw* promised to relate all faithfully, nevertheless Mr. Pleyer was charged with a similar message to the Prime Minister, Leo Kirilowicz Nareskin, with the addition that the Lord Envoy would not dismiss the *potwodi*³ until a more decent and commodious lodging was assigned to him, for that such a narrow place was insufficient for the safe custody of his property. Though Nareskin had rudely answered that houses in Moscow could not be had as commodious as in Vienna — that it had cost a deal of trouble to find that lodging — that the Lord Envoy might be perfectly contented with it, especially considering the case of the late Muscovite envoy, Cosmo Nikitz Nephimonoff, who was not allowed to bring all his horses to Vienna — nevertheless, the interpreter, Mr. Schwerenberg, to persuade us to dismiss the

³ Peasants' carts, collected by requisition of the authorities, and which the peasants are bound to furnish when called upon.

6 COURT OF PETER THE GREAT

potwodi, gave hopes that we should soon obtain a large house; and the weather coming on to rain, fell in with his advice to house our property at length, after it had been exposed to all the vicissitudes of the weather and storms on our long journey.

II

FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF MOSCOW

14th May, 1698.—One of the Danish Lord Envoy's footmen had ridden to the church belonging to the secretaries of the Confession of Augsburg.¹ The horse, in yielding to a need of nature, spattered a lieutenant's wife who was passing by. With a woman's fury she showered opprobrious epithets upon the footman; and in an obstinate, fierce rage, went off to rouse her husband to revenge,—telling him that if he deserved to be called a husband he would take signal vengeance for an insult that reflected upon himself. Excited with these outrageous complaints and sobs, the lieutenant treacherously fell upon the footman, and with the associates he had brought with him to commit the outrage, so belabored the man with cudgels that he could neither walk nor ride. The Danish envoy made a great complaint of the lieutenant, and said, with great feeling, that he was attacked himself in the person of the servant.

20th May, 1698.—In the public offices which the Muscovites call *Pricass*, the chief Clerk is called Ali.

¹ i. e. the Lutherans.

His duty is to watch constantly that the rest actively pursue their work. One day the business was so great, that it was considered necessary to give up the whole night as well as the day to it, though only the day was paid for. Ali had in consequence betaken him to rest. The remaining mob of scribblers followed his example.

The day after, the Dumnoi,² becoming aware of this contumacy of the clerks, condemned Ali to receive, in proper person, the penalty of the battok — a kind of cudgelling — as being the prime offender, by the very bad example he had given to the rest by contempt of orders. The clerks, after the manner of outrageous criminals, were chained with iron to their places, and fettered, to teach them how to write night and day.

25th, 26th, 27th, May, 1698.— These days our movables were transferred to the Palace of the Ambassadors and arranged in the rooms of our future lodging there. On the last day, when everything had been removed, one of the servants, by some accident, dropped a sword in the street. A Muscovite of the common people, before the eyes of another of our men, thievinly snatched it up to carry home with him; he refused to give it up when asked for it; his insolent quibbling gave rise to a brawl, and a consequent tumult, so that the whole house was full of the idea that our people were in danger, when

² The Magistrates.

the Lord Envoy, who at all times was most cautious to prevent any quarrel, especially with people not belonging to the house, hastily arranging his dress, mounted the first horse at hand to see for himself what was the matter; but the affair had already been settled without wounds on either side.

1st June, 1698.—At about an hour's distance from the city of Moscow, there is a green grove on the bank of the river Jausa, whither daily flock, in spring and summer, the Germans established in Moscow. The place is so familiar to every German of them all, from constantly going there, that it seems almost to belong to himself. Their sole amusement is to gladden their souls among these shady thickets and pleasant green trees with their usual innocent games. Here too they spread the board, alternating the expenses with one another. It was Colonel de Grage's turn to-day; he politely invited us to enjoy this gentle recreation, and we willingly accepted.

8th June, 1698.—A council of war was held by the Boyars at a place a mile distant from Moscow. A most commodious traveling carriage, with six horses, beautifully ornamented and with richly-wrought trappings and housings was sent to the Prime Minister,³ at his own request, by the Lord Envoy who was not unaware that they would never return to his stables.

³ Nariskin brother of the Czarina, mother of Peter I. See *Appendix*.

10 COURT OF PETER THE GREAT

After the sacrifice of the mass in Slowoda, the Lord Envoy was received by Mr. Guasconi, a Florentine merchant, to a most splendid dinner. The other guests were Colonel Grage and Doctors Carbonari and Zoppot, together with the four Imperial missionaries.

9th June, 1698.—As the Lord Envoy far preferred the sovereign fame of his most clement lord principal to any private convenience whatsoever, he had, from the very day he made his public entry, kept open table for those who, being distinguished from the common herd by splendor of birth or dignity of office, were thus worthy of his familiar conversation. The Czar's physician, Mr. Zoppot, came to dinner to-day, along with Colonel de Grage and several others. This gentleman's servant, coming to perform his duty, was taken under a false pretext, by the soldiers who have been assigned to us as a guard, into their own room, and there they beat him. The Lord Envoy, indignant that the soldiers of the guard should dare to act so to his guests or their servants, ordered the soldier, whom the servant had noted to be the ringleader, into arrest; and meantime signified what had happened to the Prime Minister and to Dumnoi Unkrainzow, adding that he would not hesitate to take satisfaction on his own authority should the ministry think of deferring the matter needlessly. But, on the other hand, considering the justice of our complaint, full satisfaction followed. The sol-

dier paid the due penalty of his audacity, being condemned to receive one hundred blows of a stick, or, as they call them, *battok*.

To-day, for the first time, a vague rumor of the revolt of the Strelitz struck terror.

29th June, 1698.—The joyful news arrived that the rebels were defeated at the monastery dedicated to the Most Holy Resurrection, commonly called Jerusalem.

30th June, 1698.—The Lord Envoy went by invitation to a certain monastery in the city, where one of the Boyar family of Szeremetow is abdess. The dainties which they presented, according to their custom, were nuts and cucumbers. Some kinds of very old wine were, however, presented, some of the nuns reverentially serving, and most civilly inviting the Lord Envoy to come and see them often.

24th July, 1698.—The wife of a diak (*i. e.* a chancery secretary) happening to pass in front of the gibbet that was erected in front of the Czar's castle of the Kremlin in the late rebellion, compassioning the fate of those that she beheld hanging there, inadvertently exclaimed, "Alas! what mortal knows whether you were guilty or innocent?" These words were repeated to another person, who forthwith denounced them to the Boyars as an indubitable indication of treason. A woman's pity for condemned and public criminals was deemed dangerous. So she was forthwith dragged up, along

with her husband, to an examination. Now, when it was proved that there was nothing more in question than unreflecting and womanly compassion for the unfortunate, and that there was no trace of deliberate malice, they were indeed exempted from the penalty of death, but nevertheless condemned to exile. Thus thoughtless and guileless liberty of the tongue is chastised where subjects are coerced to obey through fear alone.

Lieutenant Colonel Narbekoff, impeached for the late sedition, was, with twenty-five serfs, dragged off to prison and the torture.

26th July, 1698.—After dinner to-day the Lord Envoy, with the greater part of his suite, went to Prince Galizin's, as well to pay him a ceremonial visit as to enjoy the freedom of familiar discourse with him.

With strange politeness he commanded his musicians, who are natives of Poland, to play various airs for the amusement of the company, and earnestly begged the Lord Envoy to come to his country house, where he purposed to take the Lord Archbishop for his amusement, before he should finally start for Persia. He ordered a great variety of wines to be served to display the extent of his opulence. Two of the Prince's sons, who were present, were commanded to serve the Lord Archbishop and the Lord Envoy, really in testimony of a proud courtesy. He had given them as a companion a

young Circassian Prince, who a considerable time ago was torn away by violence from his parents, princes of the Tartar Circassians, and christened. A very rich widow of the Galizin family adopted him as her heir, in order to console him for the patrimony which he had lost by being stolen and torn away from his father. He keeps a Pole as tutor to these youths: they are at present engaged learning Latin. The disposition of the Galizins appeared meek. On the contrary the Circassian's noble and daring countenance seemed an index of the warlike soul with which he was born.

Prince Galizin at length put us all in amaze by the atrocious invectives and threats into which he broke out at the pedagogue. "Thou traitor to me and mine, how durst thou publish the secret of my house and violate thy sworn promise of silence? Knowest thou not Galizin? In whose power it is to hang thee, and thus (clenching his hand) to squash thee; for know that it is something to be the tyrant even in one's own house."

III

REVOLT OF THE STRELITZ

BY a common sport of fortune it very often happens that when a friend would extinguish the houses of his neighbors which the flames are devouring, his own is involved in the same peril. And so it is not without reason that we deplore a calamity that may befall ourselves as often as Ucalegon hard-by is on fire.

Everybody knows that when the Poles were about to proceed to the vote for the election of a monarch to the throne of their widowed Republic, their struggles were divided between two candidates. These wild gusts bursting beyond the narrow limits of the Diet, among this fiery people, burning as they are with subtle and active intrigue menaced a tempest fraught with universal danger. The Czar of Moscow, roused by the proximity of the peril, ordered a strong body of troops under the command of General Knes Michael Greegorowicz Romadonowski to lie in observation upon the frontiers of Lithuania, so as to be able, should public disorders arise out of the strife of private individuals, to settle them promptly

and repress with strong succors the disturbers of the public peace, and force them the more efficaciously into the reverence due to their lawfully elected king.

But how wonderful are the vicissitudes of fortune and of human affairs! The flood burst in wild rage upon him, who rashly thought to brave the unruly inundation that menaced the quiet of a neighboring nation. Four regiments of the Strelitz, which lay upon the frontier of Lithuania had nefariously plotted to change the sovereignty. The regiment of Theodosia abandoned Viasma, the Athanasian regiment quitted Picla, the Isano-Tzernovio-Wlodomirian left Ostheba, and the Ticchonian quitted Dorogobusa, in which places they were in garrison. They drove away the loyal officers that happened to be among them, distributed military rank among themselves,—the readiest for crime being held the fittest for command. At once they menaced death to all in their next neighborhood if they would not freely join their party, or should resist their design.

Many reports spread through Moscow about the danger that was so near at hand, but what real truth was in them nobody knew: until at length the meeting of the Boyars, their consultations repeated day after day, their assembling by night, and their assiduous conferences might have proved to anybody how grave a business it was, and what imminent need there was to press on their conclusions to maturity.

The Czar, before his departure, had chosen the Boyar and Woiwode Alexis Simonowicz Schachin,¹ generalissimo of his land forces. No other than the man whom the Czar's majesty had already entrusted with the command-in-chief of the army could be charged with the execution of the measures required. But the orders were not sufficiently decisive, everybody wished to take counsel of events; should they hold out perseveringly and refuse to confess their fault and crave pardon, it would then be time enough to take severe measures against this flagitious mutiny.

Schachin agreed to accept the power they, the Boyars, would entrust to him, but upon condition that the decree approved unanimously should be also confirmed by their seals and signatures. Although what he required was fair, there was not one among them all that did not refuse to put his hand to the resolution. It was hard to say whether this was through fear or envy: but the danger was too near to admit of delay, and the dread was left the seditious cohorts of the Strelitz should penetrate into Moscow. Nor was it without reason that they were in terror of the mixing of the rebels and the masses. It appeared more advisable to march out against them than to await an invasion so fraught with the veriest peril.

The regiments of the guards got notice to hold

¹ See *Appendix*.

themselves in readiness to march at an hour's notice, and that those who should decline to act against the sacrilegious violators of the Majesty of the Crown would be held guilty of misprison of their crime,—that no ties of blood or kindred held binding when the salvation of the sovereign and the state were at stake,—nay, that a son might stay his father if he rose to ruin his fatherland.

General Gordon strenuously executed this Spartan measure and exhorted the troops entrusted to him to perform their noble task, telling them how there could be no more glorious need than to have saved the sovereign and the state. Nor was the circumstance of this expedition against the mutineers being undertaken on the very festival of Pentecost, devoid of happy omen that the spirit of truth and justice would confound the councils of the wicked,—as the event clearly showed. For there was discord between the three principal chiefs of the rebellion, which delayed their march for three days, and so gave the loyal army time to encounter the traitor Strelitz at the monastery dedicated to the most Holy Resurrection which some call Jerusalem. For the stupendous nature of their crime, brought dread, delay, and divided counsels: the concord that is sworn for crime is seldom indeed lasting.

Had the rebels reached that monastery but one hour sooner, safe within its strong defenses, they might perhaps have worn out the loyal troops with

such long and fruitless labor that they might have lost heart, and victory, hostile to Loyalty, might have set her garland upon the brow of Treason. But Fortune denied to their turbulent counsels the object they sought. A slender stream not far distant waters the rich land hereabouts. On its hither banks the Czar's troops, and on the opposite the rebel columns had begun to appear. The latter were trying to ford and if they had been really determined to pass, the Czar's force could hardly have hindered them. Fatigued with a long march, and still without sufficient force, Gordon, setting wisdom in the place of strength, strolled alone to the bank to talk with the Strelitz. He found them deliberating without crossing, and dissuaded them from their undertaking with words like these: what did they mean to do? Whither were they going? If they were thinking of Moscow, the night was too close at hand to admit of their reaching it,—there was not room for them all on the hither bank, they would do much better to remain at the other side of the river and give the night to thinking sensibly of what they ought to do on the morrow. The seditious multitude could not resist such friendly advice; they were too much fatigued in body to have stomach for a fight where they did not expect one.

Meantime, Gordon having well examined all the advantages of the ground, occupied an advantageous height with his troops, Schachin consenting, he dis-

tributed the posts, and fortified himself, leaving nothing undone that could contribute to his own defense and security or to the detriment and damage of the enemy. With equal loyalty and resolution the imperial colonel of artillery, De Grage, bravely performed his part. He made a lodgement upon the height, placed his great guns in advantageous position, and distributed all in such excellent order, that almost the whole success that attended the affair was due to the artillery. At the first dawn of day, by command of General Schachin, General Gordon went again to parley with the Strelitz, and after blaming somewhat the disobedience of the regiments, he discoursed largely of the Czar's clemency, telling them, that it was not by sedition and mobbing together that the desires of the soldiers should be made known to the Czar. Why, contrary to their usual dutiful behavior, contrary to the sanction of discipline, had they deserted the places that had been entrusted to their loyal keeping? Why should they have driven away their officers, and have broken out in designs of violence? Let them rather propose their requests peaceably, and, mindful of the loyalty they owed, return to their appointed stations, that should he see them yield to their duty, should he hear them beg for it, he would get them both satisfaction for their requests, and pardon, when they confessed it, for their shameful conduct.

But Gordon's speech did not move the now hard-

ened stubbornness of the false traitors; and they only saucily answered that they would not go back to their appointed quarters until they had been allowed to kiss their darling wives at Moscow, and had received the arrears of their pay.

Gordon related to Schachin the perfectly determined wickedness of the Strelitz. But as the latter was unwilling to despair altogether of the repentance of the criminals, Gordon did not decline to try a third time to mollify the fierce passions of the rebels with offers of payment for their arrears, and pardon for the crime they were bent upon. Not only was advice utterly fruitless, but they were in such a state of exasperation, that the negotiator was near to have paid dearly for his pains. Already they loudly upbraided and rebuked this man of grave authority, their former general; they warned him to be off forthwith, and not to waste his words to no purpose, unless he wanted a bullet to chastise his marvelous audacity; that they recognized no master, and would listen to orders from nobody; that they would not go back to their quarters; that they must be admitted into Moscow; that if they were forbidden, they would open the road with force and cold steel. Their unexpected fierceness stung Gordon, and he deliberated with Schachin and the other military officers present what was to be done. There was no difficulty in deciding the course that should be adopted against men that were predetermined to try

the strength of their arms. Everything was made ready consequently, for the onset and the fight, as the stubborn unanimity of the traitors forced on that last resort. Nor were the Strelitz less busy; they drew up their array, pointed their artillery, dressed their ranks, and, as if the strife in which they were about to mingle was a struggle with a foreign foe, they preceded it with the customary prayers and invocation of God. Even malice does not dare to show its head in the face of the world without disguising itself in the colors of virtue and righteousness.

Countless signs of the cross being made on both sides, the attack began on both sides from a distance. The first reports of cannon and small arms proceeded from the lines of General Schachin, by whose command none of the pieces were loaded with ball; for he entertained a secret hope that the reality of resistance might terrify them into a submissive return to obedience. But the first volley passing without wound or slaughter, only added courage to their guilt. Vastly emboldened, they responded by a discharge, by which some were laid lifeless, and several were bloodily wounded. When death and wounds had given a sufficient lesson that stronger remedies must be applied, Colonel de Grage was no longer required to dissemble his stout will, and allowed to discharge his great guns, fraught with deadly lead and iron. Colonel de Grage had been anxiously

waiting for this command, and lost no time in firing with such precision into their rebel ranks that their furious passions were checked, and the strife of resistance and skirmishing of the mutineers was changed into a piteous slaughter.

When they saw that some were stretched lifeless, courage and fierceness at once deserted the terror-stricken Strelitz, who broke in disorder. Those that retained any presence of mind, endeavored by the fire of their own artillery to check and silence that of the Czar; but all in vain; for Colonel de Grage had anticipated that design, and directing the fire of his pieces upon the artillery of the seditious mob, whenever they would go to their guns, vomited such a perfect hurricane upon them, that many fell, numbers fled away, and none remained daring enough to return to fire them. Still Colonel de Grage did not cease to thunder from the heights into the ranks of the flying. The Strelitz saw safety nowhere; arms could not protect them; nothing was more appalling to them than the ceaseless flash and roar of the artillery showering its deadly bolts upon them from the German right. And the same men who, but an hour before, had spat upon proffered pardon, offered in consequence to surrender — so short is the interval that separates victors from vanquished. Suppliant, they fell prostrate, and begged that the artillery might cease its cruel ravages, offering to do promptly whatever they were ordered.

The suppliants were directed to lay down their arms, to quit their ranks, and obey in everything that would be enjoined to them. Though they at once threw down their arms, and proceeded to the places, to which they were ordered; nevertheless, for a little while, the fire of the artillery was kept up, lest with the cessation of the cause of their terror, their rash daring should return, and the mutinous strife be renewed. But when they were truly and thoroughly frightened, they were treated with contemptuous impunity. Thousands of men allowed themselves to be fettered, who, if they had but rather instead have tried their real strength, would, beyond the least doubt, have become the victors of those that vanquished them. But it is God that scatters the counsels of the malignant, that they may not prosper in their undertaking.

When the ferocious arrogance with which they were swollen had been made to subside completely, in the manner we have just narrated, and all the accomplices of the mutiny had been cast into chains, General Schachin instituted an inquiry, by way of torture, touching the causes, the objects, the instigators, the chiefs, and the accomplices of this perilous and impious machination. For there was a very serious suspicion that more exalted people were at the head of it. Every one of them freely confessed himself deserving of death; but to detail the particulars of the nefarious plot, to lay bare

the objects of it, to betray their accomplices, was what no person could persuade any of them to do.

The rack was consequently got in readiness by the executioner, as the only means left to elicit the truth. The torture that was applied was of unexampled inhumanity. Scourged most savagely with the cat, if that had not the effect of breaking their stubborn silence, fire was applied to their backs, all gory and streaming, in order that, by slowly roasting the skin and tender flesh, the sharp pangs might penetrate through the very marrow of their bones, to the utmost power of painful sensation. These tortures were applied alternately, over and over again. Horrid tragedies to witness and to hear. In the open field above thirty of these more than funeral pyres blazed at the same time, and thereat were these most wretched creatures under examination roasted amidst their horrible howlings. At another side resounded the merciless strokes of the cat, while this most savage butchery of men was being done in this very pleasant neighborhood.

After numbers had been proved by the torture, at last the obstinacy of a few was found to yield; and one of them detailed the following particulars of this most perverse plot. He said that he was not unaware how great their fault was, that all had deserved to lose their lives, and that perhaps none would be found that would shirk death. That had fortune attended their undertaking they would have

decreed the same penalty against the Boyars, as, now they were vanquished, they expected themselves; for that they had the intention to set on fire, sack and ruin the whole German suburb, and when all the Germans, without exception, had been got rid of by massacre, to enter Moscow by force, to murder all that would make resistance, taking the rest with them to aid in their nefarious deeds; that they meant to inflict death upon some of the Boyars, exile upon others, and to drag them all down from their offices and dignities, in order the more easily to conciliate to themselves the sympathies of the masses. That some popes were to carry an image of the Blessed Virgin, and another of St. Nicholas, before them, in order that it might appear that they had been driven to take up arms by the necessity of defending the faith, and not out of malice. That when they had got possession of authority they meant to scatter papers among the public, to assure the people that the Czar's majesty, who had gone abroad, in consequence of the pernicious advice of the Germans, had died beyond seas. But that lest the barque of the State should be buffeted at hazard by the billows to perish a wreck upon the first rock, that Princess Sophia Alexiowna was to be raised to the throne until the Czarewicz should have attained his majority and the strength of manhood, that Basil Galizin ² was to

² See *Appendix*.

have been recalled from exile, to aid Sophia with prudent advice.

Now, as any one of the points of this confession was of itself weighty enough to merit death, General Schachin had the sentence that was drawn up against them, promulgated and executed. Numbers were condemned to be hanged and gibbeted; many laid their heads upon the fatal block and died by the ax, many were reserved to certain vengeance, and laid in custody in places in the environs. It was contrary to General Gordon's and Prince Masatski's advice that the General proceeded to execute the rebels; as in this manner the chiefs of the revolt may without sufficient examination, have been removed, by premature death, from further inquest. Hence he drew upon himself, not undeservedly, the fury of a more wary avenger, when, amidst the gayeties of a royal banquet he would have died the death, had not the stout arm of General Lefort drawn back and refrained the hand that was descending to the stroke. But, at the time in question, Schachin was of a different opinion, believing that timely severity would have the salutary consequence of restoring to the minds of numbers reverence for the monarch and fear of punishment. And for this reason — to strike terror into the rest by an example of public vengeance — he on one day broke seventy, and another ninety, upon the cross they so richly deserved.

How sharp was the pain, how great the indignation to which the Czar's Majesty was mightily moved, when he knew of the rebellion of the Strelitz, betrayed openly a mind panting for vengeance. He was still tarrying at Vienna, quite full of the desire of setting out for Italy; but, fervid as was this curiosity of rambling abroad, it was nevertheless, speedily extinguished on the announcement of the troubles that had broken out in the bowels of his realm. Going immediately to Lefort (the only person almost that he condescended to treat with intimate familiarity), he thus indignantly broke out: "Tell me, Francis, son of James, how I can reach Moscow, by the shortest way, in a brief space, so that I may wreak vengeance on this great perfidy of my people, with punishments worthy of their flagitious crime. Not one of them shall escape with impunity. Around my royal city, of which, with their impious efforts, they meditated the destruction, I will have gibbets and gallows set upon the walls and ramparts, and each and every of them will I put to a direful death."

Nor did he long delay the plan for his justly excited wrath; he took the quick post, as his ambassador suggested, and in four weeks' time, he had got over about three hundred miles³ without accident, and arrived on the 4th of September, a monarch for the well-disposed, but an avenger for the wicked.

³ German miles, each equal to about five English.—Transl.

His first anxiety, after his arrival, was about the rebellion. In what it consisted? What the insurgents meant? Who had dared to instigate such a crime? And as nobody could answer accurately upon all points, and some pleaded their own ignorance, others the obstinacy of the Strelitz, he began to have suspicions of everybody's loyalty, and began to cogitate about a fresh investigation. The rebels that were kept in custody, in various places in the environs, were all brought in by four regiments of guards, to a fresh investigation and fresh tortures. Prison, tribunal, and rack, for those that were brought in, was in Bebraschentsko. No day, holy or profane, were the inquisitors idle; every day was deemed fit and lawful for torturing. As many as there were accused there were knouts, and every inquisitor was a butcher.

Prince Feodor Jurowicz Romadonowski⁴ showed himself by so much more fitted for his inquiry, as he surpassed the rest in cruelty. The very Grand Duke himself, in consequence of the distrust he had conceived of his subjects, performed the office of inquisitor. He put the interrogatories, he examined the criminals, he urged those that were not confessing, he ordered such Strelitz as were more pertinaciously silent, to be subjected to more cruel tortures; those that had already confessed about many things were questioned about more; those who

⁴ See *Appendix*.

were bereft of strength and reason, and almost of their senses, by excess of torment, were handed over to the skill of the doctors, who were compelled to restore them to strength, in order that they might be broken down by fresh excruciations. The whole month of October was spent in butchering the backs of the culprits with knout and with flames: no day were those that were left alive exempt from scourging or scorching, or else they were broken upon the wheel, or driven to the gibbet, or slain with the ax — the penalties which were inflicted upon them as soon as their confessions had sufficiently revealed the heads of the rebellion.

IV

RETURN OF THE CZAR

5th September, 1698.—The report of the Czar's arrival had spread through the city. The Boyars and principal Muscovites flocked in numbers at an early hour to the place where it had become known he had spent the night,¹ to pay their court. Great was the crowd of congratulators, who came to prove by the promptitude of their obsequiousness the constancy of their spotless loyalty to their sovereign. Although the chief ambassador, Francis, son of James Lefort, would receive nobody that day, alleging the fatigue occasioned by such long and uninterrupted traveling, nevertheless his Majesty the Czar received all that came, with an alacrity that showed as if he wished to be beforehand with his subjects in eagerness. Those who, according to the fashion of that country, would cast themselves upon the ground to worship majesty, he lifted up graciously from their groveling posture, and embraced with a kiss, such as is only due among private friends. If the razor, that plied promiscuously

¹ He had stayed at the house of Miss Mons (see *Appendix*).

among the beards of those present, can be forgiven the injury it did, the Muscovites may truly reckon that day among the happiest of their lives. Knes Alexis Simonowicz Schachin, General-in-Chief of the Czar's troops, was the first who submitted the encumbrance of his long beard to the razor.

Nor can they consider it any disgrace, as their sovereign is the first to show the example — their sovereign to whose wish or command they deem it a holy and religious command to devote their lives. Nor was there anybody left to laugh at the rest. They were all born to the same fate. Nothing but superstitious awe for his office exempted the Patriarch. Prince Lehugowicz Tzerkasky was let off out of reverence for his advanced years, and Tichon Nikitowicz Stresnow out of the honor due to one who had been guardian to the Czarine. All the rest had to conform to the guise of foreign nations, and the razor eliminated the ancient fashion. In speaking of the foreign sovereigns he had visited, he made honorable mention of the King of Poland. "I prize him more than the whole of you together," (he was addressing his Boyars and magnates that were present) "and that not because of his royal preëminence over you, but merely because I like him."

Such was the effect of the three days during which he enjoyed the King's society. He still proudly wore the King's arms, which he had exchanged with that monarch for his own, in order to proclaim that

their bond of pledged friendship is more solid than the Gordian knot, and never to be severed with the sword.

6th September, 1698.—The Czar inspected his troops at exercise; and seeing at a glance how backward they were as compared with other soldiers, he went himself through all the attitudes and movements of the manual exercise, teaching them by his own motions how they should endeavor to form their heavy clumsy bodies. Tired at last with the uncouth horde, he went off with a bevy of Boyars to a dinner which he had ordered at his Ambassador Lefort's. Salvos of artillery mingled with the shouts of the drinkers, and the pleasures of the table were protracted to a late hour of the evening. Then, taking advantage of the shades of night, attended by a very few of those in whom he reposes most confidence, he went into the Castle of the Kremlin, where he indulged a father's affection in seeing his darling little son, kissed him thrice, and leaving many other pledges of endearment, returned to his wooden dwelling in Bebraschentsko, flying the sight of his wife, the Czarine, whom he dislikes with a loathing of old date.

The Czar's ministry had a friendly hint given to the Lord Envoy to abstain a little from appearing in public, and not to allow those of his household to go out of doors too much; that it was necessary to yield so much to custom in order not to risk the

high esteem which he had hitherto won from everybody.

8th September, 1698.—His Majesty the Czar was reported to have graciously favored his most serene wife with a secret conversation of four hour's duration in a strange house, but the rumor was utterly false; others, with greater show of truth, telling that it was Nathalia, the Czar's favorite sister.

The Lord Envoy asked for an audience.

11th September, 1698.—The Russians begin their year, according to the old calendar, in the first of September, for they reckon the number of years from the creation of the world. Moreover, a venerable custom used to mark this day among the Russians by a great and ancient solemnity. In the most spacious courtyard of the Castle of the Kremlin, two thrones, most richly adorned, used to be erected for the Czar and the Patriarchs. The latter in the splendor of his pontificals, the former in his royal robes, sat in these thrones, adding by the grandeur of this attire to that reverence for majesty which, even without that outward adornment, the people looked up to as a kind of divinity that only seldom appears. After a solemn benediction given by the Patriarch, the congratulations of the magnates and other chief persons were borne to the Czar, who returned thanks with a nod for their good wishes. The absence of the Czar for many years had oc-

casioned the intermission of these rites, and, with the new-fangled ambition of our days, they were left unrevived as things worn-out and obsolete. It was considered that the worship of by-gone generations was needlessly superstitious in allowing majesty to be wrapped up with so many sacred rites. Nevertheless a jolly inauguration of the year took place in a banquet prepared with royal munificence at the house of General-in-Chief Schachin. A crowd of Boyars, scribes, and military officers, almost incredible, was assembled there, and among them were several common sailors, with whom the Czar repeatedly mixed, divided apples, and even honored one of them by calling him brother. A salvo of twenty-five great guns marked each toast. Nor could the irksome offices of the barber check the festivities of the day, though it was well known he was enacting the part of jester by appointment at the Czar's court. It was of evil omen to make show of reluctance as the razor approached the chin, and was to be forthwith punished with a boxing on the ears. In this way, between mirth and the wine-cup, many were admonished by this insane ridicule to abandon the olden guise.

12th September, 1698.—The Prime Minister, Nareskin, sent for the Lord Envoy, and announced that his Majesty the Czar had appointed to admit him to an audience next day.

13th September, 1698.—At four in the afternoon

we went with a most splendid train to audience. It took place in the magnificent house which the Czar had built at his own cost and presented to his general and admiral, Lefort. Numbers of magnates were around his Majesty, and amidst them all the Czar stood preëminent, with a handsome figure and lofty look that bespoke the latent monarch. The Prime Minister and Dumnoi Ukrainzow, by virtue of their functions, stood nearer to his Majesty than the rest. We made our reverential obeisances, which his Majesty acknowledged with a gracious nod which augured kindness. The Lord Envoy had directed that two letters credential should be carried before him to be exhibited to his Majesty the Czar. The first was borne by the secretary, the other by the missionary, Mr. Francis Emiliani, as having special reference to his affairs. Presenting them with a lowly reverence, the Czar graciously took them, and then admitted the Lord Envoy, and all the officials of the embassy and the missionaries present, to kiss hands.

After this followed courteous questions touching our most august master's health and the Lord Envoy's, suitable and respectful replies to which closed the audience.

14th September, 1698.—The hymn *Te Deum laudamus* was sung in the church, amidst the clangor of drums and trumpets, for the Czar's happy return. His Majesty the Czar gave orders that all

the foreign representatives, the Boyars, and other persons distinguished by rank or favor, should be invited to a grand banquet, given at his Majesty's charges, by General Lefort. The minister of Denmark, in consequence of having incautiously given up his credentials when asked to do so by the ministry, has been refused an audience of his Majesty the Czar on his return; but he had so gained the good graces of General Lefort, that he was admitted into the house of the latter to kiss hands of the Czar before sitting down to his table. In like manner the envoy of Poland, having prematurely given up his credentials, subjected himself to the same lot; so that losing all hope of an audience, and begging to be at least admitted to kiss hands, he obtained his desire in a little closet where the glasses and drinking-bowls were kept. The envoy of Denmark piqued himself greatly on his victory, vaunting that he had been allowed the precedence because he was the first that had the honor of kissing hands. As these rivals were ambitiously contending about precedence, neither willing to be second to the other, the Czar, in a passion, made use of a word familiar to the Muscovites to express a disorder of the mind — calling them *Duraks*.²

His Majesty, during dinner, addressing the com-

² *Ti durak* (literally: *Thou donkey*) is an expression still familiar to high officials in Russia up to the nineteenth century.

pany, was painting the wretchedness of Poland in terms like the following: "At Vienna I was getting fat with good cheer, but hungry Poland made me quite slender again." The Polish minister said that he was surprised that should have happened to his Majesty the Czar; that for his own part he had been brought up there, and had come hither through that country, and yet had managed to get fat; and fat he was. The Czar answered, "It was not there, but here in Moscow that you crammed yourself";—alluding to the free maintenance at the Czar's cost upon which he was supported. Dinner was not yet over, when his Majesty left the room in a rage with his general-in-chief, Schachin, with whom he had been warmly disputing; and nobody knew what he was going to do. It was known later that he had gone to question the soldiers, to learn from them how many colonels and other regimental officers that general-in-chief had made without reference to merit, merely for money. In a short time when he came back, his wrath had grown to such a pitch that he drew his sword, and facing the general-in-chief, horrified his guests with this threat: "By striking thus, I will mar thy mal-government."

Boiling over with well-grounded anger, he appealed to Prince Romadonowski, and Dumnoi Mikitim Mosciwicz; but finding them excuse the general-in-chief, he grew so hot that he startled all the guests by striking right and left, he knew not where, with

his drawn sword. Knes Romadonowski had to complain of a cut finger, and another of a slight wound on the head. Mikitim Mosciwicz was hurt in the hand as the sword was returning from a stroke. A blow far more deadly was aiming at the general-in-chief,³ who beyond a doubt would have been stretched in his gore by the Czar's right hand, had not General Lefort (who was almost the only one that might have ventured it), catching the Czar in his arms, drawn back his hand from the stroke. But the Czar, taking it ill that any person should dare to hinder him from sating his most just wrath, wheeled round upon the spot, and struck his unwelcome impeder a hard blow on the back. He is the only one that knew what remedy to apply; none of the Muscovites is more beloved by the Czar than he. They say he has been raised up from the lowest condition to this envied pinnacle of authority. This man so mitigated his ire, that threatening only, he abstained from murder.

Merriment followed this dire tempest: the Czar, with a face full of smiles, was present at the dancing; and, to show his mirth, commanded the musicians to play the tunes to which (so he said) he had danced at his most beloved lord and brother's, when that most august host was entertaining guests. Two

³ "Schein," or, as the Diarist writes the name, "Schachin," evidently following the spelling adopted by the Russians to express the sound of the name. See *Appendix*.

young ladies departing by stealth were, at an order of the Czar, brought back by soldiers.~ Again, twenty-five great guns saluted the toasts, and the hilarity of the *fete* was protracted till half-past five in the morning.

16th September, 1698.—The Lord Envoy called on the Dumnoi Ukrainzow, to treat of certain matters of moment. The missionaries, Francis-Xavier Loeffler and Paul-Joseph Jarosch, were also present to offer thanks for having obtained leave to go away at last.⁴

About two o'clock came a Pristaw, dressed in a green pelisse of silk and fur of sables, which is given to them with the obligation of returning it to the Czar's treasury, whence upon occasions like the present it is produced from an inner chamber. He was accompanied by the vice-prefects of the Czar's kitchen and cellars, attended by some clerks of the ambassadorial chancery, and followed by the twelve *semskoi* (persons belonging to the Czar's kitchens), clad in dresses ornamented with silk, over which they wore linen; then in long processional train by two hundred soldiers, bearing the Czar's dainty dishes, and carrying likewise drinkables, brandy, wine, mead of various kinds, beer, and guass. They laid the

⁴ Before the reign of Peter I., foreigners who went into Russia were never allowed to leave that country again. Peter I. changed this extraordinary system, in order to favor the introduction of arts and manufactures, at the solicitation of his faithful favorite, General Lefort.

table. The cloth was of the finest possible texture; there was one little gold salt cellar, two other vessels, also of gold, one of them with pepper, and the other with salt. Near the table there was an ornamental sideboard for the Czar's plate; cups of various dimensions were set upon it, the largest measuring at least an ell. These vessels were arrayed in pairs, a smaller and a larger one being always together; and the whole sideboard, laid out with so many great cups of silver and silver gilt, looked like an organ. Near the sideboard, on benches against the wall, glittered two huge vases, one of pewter, the other of silver gilt. Not far from this lay a cask, containing about two gallons of guass. Everything being in this order, the Pristaw began reading the prescribed formulary of civility in the name of his Majesty the Czar, as follows:—"His Majesty the Czar, our most puissant master, highly esteems his ever-to-be-entirely-cultivated eternal friendship with his Majesty the Emperor, and greets thee his envoy, and of his especial bounty makes thee participant of his table."

The Lord Envoy replied: "I give the deepest thanks to his Majesty the Czar for this clement liberality of his Majesty's table, and not only shall I account it among the greatest of favors, but I will also in my first most humble dispatches extol it to his sacred Imperial Majesty, my most clement lord, with that submissive devotion which I ought."

After this an agate vessel, full of most precious brandy, was produced, and a tiny cup made out of a ruby, which the Pristaw filled. They then sat down to table: the Lord Envoy had the place of honor, the Pristaw had the second. Mr. Carbonari and Mr. Pleyer, and the four missionaries, had been invited; and besides these, all the Lord Envoy's officials. To these brandy was handed round after they had sat down. Then the viands were brought in. Among the roasts was a swan; there were no less than a hundred and eight dishes counted, but excessively few that a German palate could relish. The Pristaw's first toast was to the health of his sacred Majesty the Emperor; the second, the health of his Majesty the Czar; the third, the health of the faithful ministers of the most august Emperor and the most serene Czar. The wily Pristaw had tried to derange this order, and had asked the Lord Envoy to fill a cup and propose a toast to the health of somebody: but he took nothing by his misplaced subtlety; for the Lord Envoy replied that he was not thirsty, and that it was not his part as guest to propose a toast; let him, as he was playing the part of host in the Czar's name, fulfill his office as he thought right. There was a crowd of Muscovites standing by, who had flocked into the room to serve and pay their court, to all of whom, as they came up in turn, each according to his condition, the Lord Envoy handed a cup of wine with his own hand,

which, according to established custom, ended dinner and these ceremonies of state.

18th September, 1698.—Colonel de Grage gave a sumptuous entertainment to-day, which his Majesty the Czar was graciously pleased to honor with his presence, though his gums were swollen with a tooth-ache. General Gordon, at the time of the Czar's unexpected arrival, was at his country seat, distant about thirty miles from the city; and having heard of it, he came to this dinner to-day to pay his court. He bowed down to the earth twice, and was begging pardon for being so late to pay his court, imputing the delay to the broken weather and storms. His Majesty the Czar raised him up, and when he would have embraced his knees, stretched him his hand instead. The Lord Envoy was fortunate enough not only to be at the dinner, but enjoyed the further privilege of being at the supper which the Czar had commanded to be prepared for himself: and none others besides the Lord Envoy were admitted to the latter except the three generals, Lefort, Gordon, and Carlowitz.⁵ The Czar never showed himself more frankly gay; perhaps because none of the Boyars or anybody else was present to trouble the sensations of joy with evil eye.

20th September, 1698.—A Czar's entertainment was given to the representatives of Poland and Denmark. The Pole got twenty-five dishes, the Dane

⁵ See *Appendix*.

only twenty-two, and both had six gallons of drinkables of various kinds. It seems the ministry wanted to cut short the controversy about prerogative which the Dane had moved against the Pole. For the Pole was honored with the first entertainment, and the greater number of the viands battled in his favor too. The Dane found it very sour of digestion to be held inferior to the Pole: he could not endure that others should have made such a distinction as was made in the difference of this entertainment.

The Patriarch cast upon others the blame that the Czarina was not yet shut up in a monastery, and the consequent contempt of the Czar's commands: his Majesty the Czar's indignation at which was so fiery that he ordered the archimandrite and four popes, to whose charge the Patriarch imputed it, to be set upon little carts by soldiers, and dragged to Bebraschentsko by night.

As his evil star would have it, one from the Emperor's mines, by name Urban, far gone in his cups, was going on horseback to the German suburb where he dwelt. A saucy Russian attacked him, first with abusive language, and then with bodily violence. Urban losing patience, and indignant at being insulted by such a filthy rascal, began repelling force by force, and using the natural right of defense against his assailant, drew a pistol to defend himself — the first weapon which anger and want of

self-possession suggested to the drunken man. The ball which he wildly fired at his assailant merely grazed the fellow's head; there was not the least sign of the wound being dangerous; but lest the complaints of a man wounded should be fussed with a great noise to the Czar's Majesty, and be made a great affair of, Urban came to an amicable agreement with the fellow (who was most in fault himself) for four *roubles* to say nothing about it. Meantime hints of the accident were reported to the Czar. Urban was arrested, accused of a capital crime — the offended law must be publicly vindicated, and private agreements could not be allowed to interrupt its course — for that it was a case that fell within the clause, *whosoever shall with hostile intent unsheath a sword or knife, or draw a javelin, or other deadly instrument against another, even though death should not ensue*, — not even drunkenness shall excuse him if we yield to Muscovite reasoning. His very Majesty the Czar, when some persons were putting forward the man's drunkenness as a palliation of his offense, openly used these words: *Sauffen, rauffen*,⁶ might be excusable; but *sauffen, schiessen*, could not be allowed to go unpunished. By which apparently he meant to insinuate that drunken people were pardonable if they only used their hands in their quarrels, but not when they

⁶ *Sauffen, rauffen*, etc., i.e. *drunken scuffling* might be excused; but *drunken shooting* must not go unpunished.

fought with their arms. Whence I infer that half-drunkenness among the Muscovites deserves favor, but total drunkenness chastisement.

22nd September, 1698.—Letting the wretched Urban off capital punishment, they condemned him to the *knout* (which is a frightful kind of scourge). This by renewed intercession the Lord Envoy saved him from.

23rd September, 1698.—Here are the principal guests that came to a sumptuous dinner given by the Lord Envoy of the Emperor: the envoy of Denmark, General Lefort and his kinsman, General Gordon and his son, Major-General Garlowicz, Colonels de Grage and Blumberg, the Swedish commissioner Knipper, the Danish commissioner Baudenan, Lieutenant-Colonel Colon, and on the pretext of intimacy thither came the Boyar Feodor Madveowicz Apraxin, who, in reward for his good administration, was some years ago confirmed in the post of Voivode of the port of Archangel. About nightfall in came a Muscovite intruder, unknown to any of the guests, and, as far as could be judged from his dress, a common person. Having falsely told that he had received orders from the ministry to inquire whether his Majesty the Czar was present, or would soon come, he gave rise to a suspicion of some deep design of mischief, so General Lefort questioned the fellow about why he was sent and who sent him; and when he stammered and said he forgot the person's name

that sent him, he was, after some boxes on the ears, taken by the soldiers to Bebraschentsko to be more closely examined next day.

24th September, 1698.—An archimandrite sent a present to the Lord Envoy of a huge loaf, weighing thirty pounds, blessed after his fashion. Another monk of high authority had added brandy, apples, nuts, cherries, all preserved in spirits.

29th September, 1698.—The Czar himself examined a certain pope, an accomplice in the revolt, who, though menaced with the rack, has so far confessed nothing.

STUBBORNNESS OF THE MUSCOVITES
UNDER TORTURE

WHAT they tell of the unconquerable stubbornness of this race under the most exquisite tortures is scarcely within the bounds of credibility. Before the Czar's travels abroad, one of the accomplices of the revolt of 1696 had already four times borne tortures of the most exquisite agony without the least confession of guilt; and the Czar, perceiving that tortures were of no avail, turned to enticements, and having kissed the person under the question thus spoke to him:—"It is no secret to me that thou hast knowledge of the treason attempted against me. Thou hast been punished enough; now confess of thy own accord out of the love that thou owest to thy Prince; and by that God, by whose singular grace I am thy Czar and Prince, I swear, not alone wholly to pardon thy guilt, but moreover, as a special testimony of my clemency, to make thee a colonel."

This strange friendliness of such a mighty Prince bent the fierce nature of that iron man; and taking the freedom of returning the Czar's embrace, he thus

began —“ For me this is the greatest of all tortures ; by no other shouldst thou have ever vanquished my determination,” and thereupon he proceeded to unfold at great length the whole series of the treason.

The Czar, carried away with wonder, that a man who had remained silent under such awfully cruel tortures, should be so softened with one little kindness, having asked him how he could have borne so many strokes of the knout and the dreadful torture of fire applied to his back, he began another and more stupendous tale. He stated that he and his accomplices had founded a kind of association ; that nobody was admitted into it without being previously tortured ; that he who was found capable of bearing the most pain was afterwards decreed higher honors by the others ; that a person who was only once tortured was a simple associate and participator in the common advantages ; that anybody who aspired to the higher grades of distinction was not to receive them until he had undergone fresh tortures, and had proved that he could bear more in proportion to the eminence of the dignity ; that he had been tortured himself six times, and was the president of the whole society ; that the knout was a mere nothing ; that the roasting of the flesh after knouting was nothing ; that he had had to go through far more cruel pains among his associates : “ for,” continued he, “ the sharpest pain of all is when a burning coal is placed in the ear ; nor is it less painful when the head is

shaved, and extremely cold water is let to fall slowly drop by drop upon it from a height of two ells."

He said that in all these things he had surpassed himself and his associates; and that those who, after being aspirants for membership, were found unable to go through the first tortures, were made away with by poison, or in some other way, for fear they should betray. That as far as he could remember, at least four hundred such inapt candidates had been killed by himself and his comrades. Thus this fellow bore ten times the most unheard of tortures; six times from his associates, and four times in the inquiry before the Czar. He is still living, and, as I have set down above, is now by the Czar's clemency a colonel and away in Siberia.

A case of similar stubbornness occurred when the Czar was returning to Moscow from Vienna. He had already passed Smolensk and was approaching his capital, when one of his suite, terrified at having committed some flagrant act, sought safety in flight. The inquirers could find no indication of the direction or road he had taken; when at length a peasant from the next hamlet came and said that indeed he knew no particulars about the fugitive, but that he had seen a horse in a neighbor's house. The Czar detained the informer, and sent off Mr. Adam Weyd to the house designated, to obtain more positive information. He saw the horse, and on his return confirmed the peasant's story to the Czar.

So the owner of the cottage was brought up, and the Czar inquired civilly of him about the man and the horse. But the hind denied any knowledge of a horse being at his house. The Czar repeated the question in a grave tone: but the fellow persisted in his denial. The Czar urged him to remember that he was speaking to his sovereign, the lord of his limbs, in whose power were life and death. But the thick-skulled clown was not in the least moved by the threat. The Czar in consequence commanded him to be thrown down on the ground and dreadfully beaten from head to foot with a great knotty stick.

When on further interrogation — he still would confess nothing, he was again most violently thrashed from top to toe. Still the fellow remained contumaciously silent. They rolled him over again and almost beat him to a mummy. But still at every invitation of the knotty club the mangled rustic lay like a block and stubbornly denied.

To such obstinate stubbornness are the souls of these Muscovites hardened, that no torments — nay, not the very presence of their sovereign — can bend them to confess the most manifest truth. For it was found out shortly after by true and indubitable proof, that this very rustic had kept the horse, and had sent off the fugitive, with his brother as guide, by secret paths beyond Smolensk.

VI

PUNISHMENT OF THE STRELITZ

7th October, 1698.—Such horrible accounts of the tortures daily exercised reached the Patriarch that he thought it his duty to exhort the angered Czar to mansuetude. He thought the best thing was to take an image of the Most Blessed Virgin, the sight of which might remind him of the common lot of man, and bring back the common feelings of pity to a mind that was almost degenerating into savagery. But the weights of real justice with which his Majesty the Czar measured the magnitude of this heinous crime were not to be altered by this exhibition of sham piety. For it had come to that pass that Muscovy was only to be saved by cruelty, not by pity. Yet is this severity of chastisement falsely called tyranny; for sometimes even equity and severity are one and the same: more particularly when disease or obstinate gangrene has taken such firm hold of the members that there remains no other remedy for the general health of the body politic than iron and fire to cut them off. Thus the Czar's invective against the Patriarch was not unworthy of

his sovereign office: "What wilt thou with thy image? or what business is it of thine to come here? Hence forthwith, and put back that image in the place where it should be venerated. Know, that I reverence God and his Most Holy Mother more earnestly perhaps than thou dost. It is the duty of my sovereign office, and a duty that I owe to God, to save my people from harm, and to prosecute with public vengeance crimes that tend to the common ruin."

The same day a Muscovite chorister was charged with having held secret communication in his own house with four Strelitz accused of lese-majesty; and being accused already of another's treason, the Czar himself, attended by Prince Romadonowski and General Artemont, put him to the question.

9th October, 1698.—The Czar stood godfather to the first-born son of the Danish envoy, and gave him the name of Peter. The other godfathers were General Lefort, Major-General Carlowitz, the Danish Commissioner Baudenan; and the godmothers, the widow of the late General Menzies, the wife of Colonel Blumberg, and Miss Mons.¹ His Majesty wore an open countenance throughout the ceremony, kissed the baby when it cried at being sprinkled with the christening water, most clemently accepted a snuff box which the Danish envoy offered him, and

¹ See *Appendix*.

did not shame to rush into the embraces of the giver. Knes Boris Alexiowicz Galizin coming there in the evening, he bade him welcome with a kiss, as a token of his great friendliness. But catching his favorite Alexasca² dancing with his sword on, he taught him the fashion of laying it aside by inflicting a box, to the force of which the blood that spouted abundantly from his nose bore witness. The same comet was near falling foul of Colonel Blumberg, and the more so as, neglecting the Czar's admonition, he was slow about putting off his sword in the dance; but at his humble entreaties he was pardoned this transgression.

The Czar had it intimated to the Lord Envoy, through the younger Lefort, that he would execute vindictive justice upon the rebels to-morrow.

THE CHIEF OF THE REBELLION.—Major Karpakow was said to be as far beyond the other rebels in treason as he was in official rank. So after being knouted, fire was applied to roast his back to such a degree that he lost both speech and consciousness; and then, as it was feared that death might remove him prematurely, he was commended to the skill of the Czar's physician, Dr. Carbonari, that he might apply such remedies as would have the effect of restoring his expiring strength, and as soon as he was

² The founder of the family of Menschikow. See also *Appendix*.

in some degree restored, he was subjected to the question anew, and fainted away under the sharpest tortures.

Batska Girin, the insurgent ringleader, after undergoing four times the most exquisite tortures, confessing nothing, was condemned to be hanged. But on the very day appointed for his execution, there was led out of prison, with the rebel Strelitz, to the question, a certain youth of twenty years of age, on being confronted with whom, he, of his own accord, broke his stubborn silence, and revealed the counsels of the traitors, with all the circumstances. Now that youth of twenty had fallen in by chance with these rebels near the borders of Smolensko, and being forced to wait on the principal instigators of the mutiny, they took no notice of his listening, nor was his presence forbidden even when they used to deliberate about the success of their nefarious enterprise. When he was dragged along with the rebels before the tribunal, he, in order to prove his innocence more easily, cast himself at the judge's feet, and with the most ardent sighs implored not to be subjected to the torture — that he would confess all that he knew with the most exact truth. Batska Girin, who was condemned to the halter, was not hanged before having made his judicial confession; for he was one of the prime rebels, and an excellent witness of what he very truly detailed.

Boriska Broskurad was executed in the camp, by command of General Schachin.

Takuska, who had been chosen first Major of the White Regiment, and two other inferior officers, among whom, as they were approaching Moscow, a dispute arose which occasioned some day's delay, were the cause of their own destruction, and saved the lives of all well-disposed people.

Deacon Ivan Gabrielowicz had, some years previously, courted the Princess Marpha to yield to his passion. The rebels would have this fellow married to Marpha,³ to be protector of the Strelitz or high chancellor; but in consequence of the sinister turn of their criminal undertaking, his funeral and obsequies, instead of his nuptials, marked the event.

Certain popes that were connected with the Strelitz became sharers in their treason. For they put up prayers to God to favor the efforts of treason, and it was they who carried the images of the Blessed Virgin and Saint Nicholas among armed men, and who had promised to draw the people to the side of the revolt, under the pretense of the marked justice of the cause, and of true piety. Hence one of them was hanged by the Czar's buffoon, near the high church dedicated to the most Holy Trinity; another, being first beheaded with

³ A sister of Czar Peter and Sophia.

the ax, was set upon the wheel near the same place. Dumnoi Diak Jichon Mosciwicz (whom the Czar calls his patriarch) was forced to be the butcher of the latter.

SOPHIA.—Wherever ambition has entered into possession there is no room for justice. For ambition has always reasons to allege in its own behalf, and is unmoved at the gulf that lies between empire and subjection. Princess Sophia has the reputation of having intrigued, for the last fourteen years, against her brother's life, and has already been the cause of several seditious movements. She, by her open schemes and factiousness, drove him, who is at once her sovereign and her brother, to consult for his own safety; especially as the late perils bore ample witness that, as long as she was at liberty, there would be nothing stable in Muscovy. Shut up on this account in the monastery of Nuns, watched daily in the strictest manner, by a guard of the Czar's troops, nevertheless the wiles of this most ambitious princess could not be quite guarded against by all those watchful eyes. She promised to put herself at the head of a new conspiracy of the Strelitz, and communicated her advice to them — suggesting the manner and the frauds by which the Strelitz might bring their dark and malignant designs into effect. She was interrogated by the Czar himself, touching these attempts, and it is still uncertain what she answered. But this much is certain — that in this

act the Czar's Majesty wept for his own lot and Sophia's. Some will have it the Czar was on the point of sentencing her to death, and used this argument: "Mary of Scotland was led forth from prison to the block, by command of her sister Elizabeth, Queen of England,—a warning to me to exercise my power over Sophia." Still once more the brother pardoned a sister's crime, and, instead of penalty, enjoined that she should be banished to a greater distance, in some monastery.

It was rather the lust of sating her passions than the desire of transferring dominion, that had entangled Princess Marpha in the same rebellious machinations. She wanted to indulge more at ease in her illicit connection with Deacon Ivan Gabrielowicz,⁴ whom she had maintained at her own cost, for some years, for that purpose. With her head shaved, she has been thrust into a monastery and does penance for the past.

Fiera and Schukowa, the former Sophia's, the latter Marpha's confidential chamber-woman, were dragged from the Czar's Castle to Bebraschentsko—the place of inquisition—and were both subjected to the torture. When Fiera, stripped naked to the loins, was being scourged with what they call the knout, the Czar observed that she was pregnant; and on being asked whether she knew the fact, she did not deny it, and moreover indicated a certain

⁴ Souvarow was his surname. See *Appendix*.

chorister as the cause of her burden. By this she liberated herself from further scourging but not from the penalty of death. For, afterwards, she and Schukowa, who had undergone a long scourging, and had confessed her share in the operations of the traitorous Princess, both expiated their crimes with their lives. Nothing is yet certain about the manner of their execution: some will have it that they were buried up to the neck alive; others, that they were thrown into the river Ianga that flows just there.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF SOPHIA WITH THE REBELS.—No garrison is safe where malice and treason have once adopted the idea of upsetting the fortress. Malice is never a moment idle; examines minutely every smallest nook in which she may safely hide the emissaries of her nefarious designs. It was certainly with no other design that so large a guard of soldiers kept watch and ward, day after day, without the monastery of Nuns, than to observe, with all possible minuteness, this dangerously ambitious Princess, so that she might be unable to plot anything against the safety of the state and the sovereign. Yet all these Argus eyes were not able to hinder her from trying to raise a truly great and most perilous flame of civil war by means of an abject wretched little mendicant that used to frequent the very guard. This was a little old woman that begged her daily bread. Sophia took her affections by

storm with profuse liberality and, with promise of higher rewards, seduced her to forbidden deeds.

When the old hag, full of such grand hopes, promised to execute to the minutest detail all her lady's bidding, Sophia taught her what to guard against and what to do, and told her that she would pretend to give her a loaf as her usual alms, that she would bring it to the Strelitz and should wait to see whether they would entrust her with any answer. There were letters enclosed in the loaf, in which she assured the rebels that she would make strong efforts in aid of their laudable undertakings; let them only come to the monastery, slay all the guards that would resist; that things had come to such a pass, that there was no happy auspices for them without shedding blood. The rebels in like manner transmitted their answers to Sophia in a loaf. The thing was done several times and the soldiers had no suspicion of it — so ingenious is malice in plotting mischief. After all she deceived herself; and that loaf which they meant to make the bread of death to so many innocent people, led to their own richly deserved ruin, and was most fatal to themselves.

THE FIRST EXECUTION.—*10th October, 1698.*—To this exhibition of avenging justice the Czar's Majesty invited all the ambassadors of foreign sovereigns, as it were to assert anew on his return that sovereign prerogative of life and death which the rebels had disputed with him.

The barracks in Bebraschentsko end in a bare field which rises to the summit of a rather steep hill. This was the place appointed for the executions. Here were planted the gibbet stakes, on which the foul heads of these confessedly guilty wretches were to be set, to protract their ignominy beyond death. There the first scene of the tragedy lay exposed. The strangers that had gathered to the spectacle were kept aloof from too close approach; the whole regiment of guards was drawn in array under arms. A little further off, on a high *tumulus* in the area of the place, there was a multitude of Muscovites, crowded and crushing together in a dense circle. A German Major was then my companion; he concealed his nationality in a Muscovite dress, besides which he relied upon his military rank and the liberty he might take in consequence of being entitled by reason of his being in the service of the Czar to share in the privileges of the Muscovites. He mingled with the thronging crowd of Muscovites, and when he came back announced that five rebel heads had been cut off in that spot by an ax that was swung by the noblest arm of all Muscovy.⁵ The river Jausa flows past the barracks in Bebraschentsko, and divides them in two.

On the opposite side of this stream there were a hundred criminals set upon those little Muscovite carts which the natives call *Shosek*, awaiting the

⁵ *I. e.* the Czar himself.

hour of the death they had to undergo. There was a cart for every criminal, and a soldier to guard each. No priestly office was to be seen; as if the condemned were unworthy of that pious compassion. But they all bore lighted tapers in their hands, not to die without light and cross. The horrors of impending death were increased by the piteous lamentations of their women, the sobbing on every side, and the shrieks of the dying that rung upon the sad array. The mother wept for her son, the daughter deplored a parent's fate, the wife lamenting a husband's lot, bemoaned along with the others, from whom the various ties of blood and kindred drew tears of sad farewell. But when the horses, urged to a sharp pace, drew them off to the place of their doom, the wail of the women rose into louder sobs and moans. As they tried to keep up with them, forms of expression like these bespoke their grief, as others explained them to me: "Why are you torn from me so soon? Why do you desert me? Is a last embrace then denied me? Why am I hindered from bidding him farewell?" With complaints like these they tried to follow their friends when they could not keep up with their rapid course. From a country seat belonging to General Schachin one hundred and thirty more Strelitz were led forth to die. At each side of all the city gates there was a gibbet erected, each of which was loaded with six rebels on that day.

When all were duly brought to the place of execution, and the half dozens were duly distributed at their several gibbets, the Czar's Majesty, dressed in a green Polish cloak, and attended by a numerous suite of Muscovite nobles, came to the gate where, by his Majesty's command, the imperial Lord Envoy had stopped in his own carriage, along with the representatives of Poland and Denmark. Next them was Major-General de Carlowiz, who had conducted his Majesty on his way from Poland, and a great many other foreigners, among whom the Muscovites mingled round about the gate. Then the proclamation of the sentence began, the Czar exhorting all the bystanders to mark well its tenor. As the executioner was unable to dispatch so many criminals, some military officers, by command of the Czar, came under compulsion to aid in this butcher's task. The guilty were neither chained nor fettered; but logs were tied to their legs, which hindered them from walking fast, but still allowed them the use of their feet. They strove of their own accord to ascend the ladder, making the sign of the cross towards the four quarters of the world; they themselves covered their eyes and faces with a piece of linen (which is a national custom); very many putting their necks into the halter sprang headlong of themselves from the gallows, in order to precipitate their end. There were counted two hundred and thirty that expiated

their flagitious conduct by halter and gibbet.⁶

SECOND EXECUTION.—*13th October, 1698.*—Although all those that were accomplices of the rebellion were condemned to death, yet the Czar's Majesty would not dispense with strict investigation. The more so as the unripe years of judgment of many seemed to bespeak mercy, as they were, as one may say, rather victims of error than of deliberate crime. In such case the penalty of death was commuted into some corporal infliction — such as, for instance, the cutting off their ears and noses, to mark them with ignominy for life — a life to be passed, not as previously, in the heart of the realm, but in various and barbarous places on the frontiers of Muscovy. To such places fifty were transported to-day, after being castigated in the manner prescribed.

THIRD EXECUTION.—*17th October, 1698.*—Only six were beheaded to-day, who had the advantage of rank over the others, if rank be a distinction of honor in executed criminals.

It was reported by a number of persons that to-day again the Czar had himself executed public vengeance upon some traitors.

The tortures — most atrocious — to which Lieutenant-Colonel Kolpakow has been continually subjected for some time, so rent his flesh that he lost

⁶ See *Appendix*.

the power both of speech and motion. In consequence he was earnestly commended to the skill and attention of the Czar's physician. Through negligence, the doctor had left a knife in his cell, with which he had probably been preparing medicaments. Kolpakow, indignant that the vital spark, which had almost fled, should be summoned back with medicines for no other end than, as you are already aware, that he might be subjected afresh to more cruel tortures, drew the knife across his throat, hoping to find death by cutting off that channel of life; but when his hand had nearly accomplished the deed, his strength failed him, and he was cured of his wound, and to-day was dragged back again to the torture.

FOURTH EXECUTION.—*21st October, 1698.*—To prove to all the people how holy and inviolable are those walls of the city, which the Strelitz rashly meditated scaling in a sudden assault, beams were run out from all the embrasures in the walls near the gates, on each of which two rebels were hanged. This day beheld about two hundred and fifty die that death. There are few cities fortified with as many palisades as Moscow has given gibbets to her guardian Strelitz.

FIFTH EXECUTION.—*23rd October, 1698.*—This differed considerably from those that preceded. The manner of it was quite different, and hardly credible. Three hundred and thirty at a time were led out together to the fatal ax's stroke, and em-

brued the whole plain with native but impious blood: for all the Boyars, Senators of the realm, Dumnoi, Diaks, and so forth, that were present at the council constituted against the rebel Strelitz, had been summoned by the Czar's command to Bebraschensko, and enjoined to take upon themselves the hangman's office. Some struck the blow unsteadily, and with trembling hands assumed this new and unaccustomed task. The most unfortunate stroke among all the Boyars was given by him ⁷ whose erring sword struck the back instead of the neck, and thus chopping the Strelitz almost in halves, would have roused him to desperation with pain, had not Alexasca reached the unhappy wretch a surer blow of an ax on the neck.

Prince Romadonowski, under whose command previous to the mutiny these four regiments were to have watched the turbulent gatherings in Poland on the frontier, beheaded, according to order, one out of each regiment. Lastly, to every Boyar a Strelitz was led up, whom he was to behead. The Czar, in his saddle, looked on the whole tragedy.

26th October, 1698.— Past ten o'clock, the Czar's Majesty arrived in his coach to a feast ordained without regard to expense.— The banquet was remarkable for the sumptuous cookery and the costly

⁷ That this was probably Prince Galizin, seems from the entry in the Diary under October 27th, 1698; though there is here a slight discrepancy as to the precise day on which the magnates performed as "executeurs des hautes oeuvres" in this terrific tragedy.— Transl.

and precious wines which the well-stored cellar brought forth: for there was Tokay, red Buda, dry Spanish, Rhenish, red French, another as well as that they call Muscatel, a great variety of hydromel, and beer of various descriptions, and that complement which is not the least prized by the Muscovites — brandy (*vinum adustum*).

Boyar Golowin⁸ has, from his cradle, a natural horror of salad and vinegar; so the Czar directing Colonel Chambers to hold him tight, forced salad and vinegar into his mouth and nostrils, until the blood flowing from his nose succeeded his violent coughing. Shortly after a kind of cold derangement of the stomach seized the Czar, and a sudden spasm running through his limbs, struck him with great terror that something was wrong. General Lefort, anxious, like everybody else, for the Sovereign's health, directed Doctor Carbonari de Bisenegg to find a vein, who saying that his faint chill would speedily pass, asked for the most generous Tokay wine that was to be had. Most pleasing to the Czar was this quickwitted remedy, nor did he long delay to take such wholesome physic. He inquired of the doctor why he meant to sell his wife: and the physician, with a quiet laugh, answered boldly, "Because you delay paying my yearly salary." It happens that Carbonari had some days before, after explaining his wants to Prince Roma-

⁸ See *Appendix*.

donowski, solicited his salary; and the Prince answering that he was ready to lend money at interest, he replied, without hesitating, that except his wife he had no other pledge to offer; but if the Prince was resolved to lend money, that he was ready either to pawn or sell her. In other respects his Majesty all through, with a perfectly open countenance, gave evidence of his internal gayety.

SEVENTH EXECUTION.—*27th October, 1698.*—To-day was assigned for the punishment of the popes—that is to say, of those who by carrying images to induce the serfs to side with the Strelitz, had invoked the aid of God with the holy rites of his altars for the happy success of this impious plot. The place selected by the judge for the execution was the open space in front of the church of the most Holy Trinity, which is the high church of Moscow. The ignominious gibbet cross awaited the popes, by way of reward in suit with the thousands of signs of the cross they had made, and as their fee for all the benedictions they had given to the refractory troops. The court jester, in the mimic attire of a pope, made the halter ready, and adjusted it, as it was held to be wrong to subject a pope to the hands of the common hangman. A certain Dumnoi struck off the head of another pope, and set his corpse upon the ignominious wheel. Close to the church, too, the halter and wheel proclaimed the enormity of the crime of their guilty burden to the passers by.

The Czar's Majesty looked on from his carriage while the popes were hurried to execution. To the populace, who stood around in great numbers, he spoke a few words touching the perfidy of the popes, adding the threat, "Henceforward let no one dare to ask any pope to pray for such an intention." A little while before the execution of the popes, two rebels, brothers, having had their thighs and other members broken in front of the Castle of the Kremlin, were set alive upon the wheel: twenty others on whom the ax had done its office lay lifeless around these wheels. The two that were bound upon the wheel beheld their third brother among the dead. Nobody will easily believe how lamentable were their cries and howls, unless he has well weighed their excruciations and the greatness of their tortures. I saw their broken thighs tied to the wheel with ropes strained as tightly as possible, so that in all that deluge of torture I do believe none can have exceeded that of the utter impossibility of the least movement. Their miserable cries had struck the Czar as he was being driven past. He went up to the wheels, and first promised speedy death, and afterwards proffered them a free pardon, if they would confess sincerely. But when upon the very wheel he found them more obstinate than ever, and that they would give no other answer than that they would confess nothing, and that their penalty was nearly paid in full, the Czar left them to the agonies of

death, and hastened on to the Monastery of the Nuns, in front of which monastery there were thirty gibbets erected in a quadrangular shape, from which were hung two hundred and thirty Strelitz. The three principal ringleaders, who presented a petition to Sophia, touching the administration of the realm, were hanged close to the windows of that princess, presenting, as it were, the petitions that were placed in their hands, so near that Sophia might with ease touch them. Perhaps this was in order to load Sophia with that remorse in every way, which I believe drove her to take the religious habit, in order to pass to a better life.

27th October, 1698.—The two bedchamberwomen, above named, are buried alive, if we are to believe what rumor has bruited abroad. All the Boyars and magnates that were present at the Council by which the fate of the rebel Strelitz was decreed, this day were summoned to a new tribunal. A criminal was set before each, and each had to carry out with the ax the sentence which had passed. Prince Romadonowski, who was chief of four regiments of Strelitz before their revolt, laid four Strelitz low with the same weapon.—His Majesty urging him to it. The more cruel Alexasca went boasting of twenty heads that he had chopped off. Galizin was unhappy at having greatly increased the criminal's sufferings by striking ill. Three hundred and thirty that were all led out together to the ax's fatal stroke

impurpled the plain far and wide with civil—'tis true—but impious blood. General Lefort and Baron de Blumberg were invited also to this hangman's office, but were excused on alleging that it was foreign from the manners of the countries they came from. The Czar himself, sitting in his saddle, looked on with dry eyes at the whole tragedy—at this frightful butchery of such a multitude of men—being only irate that several of the Boyars had performed this unaccustomed function with trembling hands—for *that no fatter victim could be immolated to God than a wicked man.*

LAST EXECUTION.—*31st October, 1698.*—Again, in front of the Kremlin Castle two others, whose thighs and extremities had been broken, and who were tied to the wheel, with horrid lamentations throughout the afternoon and the following night, closed their miserable existence in the utmost agony. One of them, the younger of the two, survived amidst his enduring tortures until noon the following day. The Czar dined at his ease with the Boyar Leo Kirilowicz Nareskin, all the representatives and the Czar's ministers being present. The successive and earnest supplications of all present induced the monarch, who was long reluctant, to give command to that Gabriel⁹ who is so well known at his court that an end might be put with a ball to the life and pangs of the criminal that still continued breathing.

⁹ Gabriel Ivanowicz Golovkin. See *Appendix*.

For the remainder of the rebels, who were still guarded in places round about, their respective places of confinement were also their places of execution, lest by collecting them all together this torturing and butchery in the one place of such a multitude might smell tyranny. And especially lest the minds of the citizens, already terror-stricken at so many melancholy exhibitions of their perishing fellow men should dread every kind of cruelty from their sovereign.

But considering the daily perils to which the Czar's Majesty was hitherto exposed, without an hour's security, and hardly escaping from many snares, he was very naturally always in great apprehension of the exceeding treachery of the Strelitz, so that he fairly concluded not to tolerate a single Strelitz in his empire,—to banish all of them that remained to the farthest confines of Muscovy after having almost extirpated the very name. In the provinces, leave was given to any that preferred to renounce military service forever, and with the consent of the Woivodes to addict themselves to domestic services. Nor were they quite innocent: for the officers that were quartered in the camp of Azow to keep ward against the hostile inroads of the enemy, told how they were never secure, and hourly expected an atrocious outbreak of treason from the Strelitz; nor was there any doubt but that they had very ambiguous sympathies for the fortunes of the

other rebels. All the wives of the Strelitz were commanded to leave the neighborhood of Moscow, and thus experienced the consequences of the crimes of their husbands. It was forbidden by Ukase, under penalty of death, for any person to keep any of them or afford them secret harbor, unless they would send them out of Moscow to serve upon their estates.

VII

LIFE AT THE CZAR'S COURT

HIS MAJESTY THE CZAR.—Those brilliant gifts of nature and soul which have spread his fame throughout almost every realm of earth, pointed him out from his infancy for kingly power and sovereign sway. A well set stature, well proportioned limbs, the vivacity of his youth, and an address beyond his years, so conciliated the affections and good will of his subjects, on account of their expectations of his natural qualifications, that he was openly preferred by the contending suffrage of numbers of people to his brother Ivan Alexiowicz, who was called to the throne of his progenitors by that preëminence of primogeniture which is held sacred by the nations. Ever self-reliant, he contemns death and danger, the apprehension of which terrifies others. Often has he gone quite alone to traitors and conspirators against his life, and either from their reflection on the greatness of their crime, or dread and remorse for their divulged treason alone he has made them quail by his Majestic presence; and, lest this creeping and dangerous pest should spread, he has de-

livered them up to chains and prison. In 1694 he sailed out of the port of Archangel, into the North Sea beyond Cola. A storm arose and drove the ships upon the most perilous rocks. The seamen were already crying out in despair; the Boyars, who had accompanied their sovereign, had betaken themselves to their prayers and their devotion of making thousands of crossings — no doubt in terror at the contemplation of such an awful shipwreck. Alone, amidst the fury of the wild sea, the fearless Czar took the helm with a most cheerful countenance, restored courage to their despairing souls, and until the sea subsided, found an asylum for life and limb on that very rock upon which, in rough weather, many vessels had been a prey to the foaming brine.

A few years ago, before his two year's tour, he told his magnates, at Szeremetows, at whose house he was dining, to what 'Saint, under God's providence, he ascribed his happy escape from that tempest. "When," said he, "I was sailing to Słowiczi Monastir from Archangel, with several of you, I was, as you know, in danger of shipwreck. How great was the horror of death and the dread of what seemed certain destruction that beset your minds, I forbear to record. Now we have escaped that danger, we have got through our peril, but I hope you will think with me, that it is but right to do what I swore to do, and fulfill the vow I made to heaven. I then proffered a vow to God and to my

holy patron, the Apostle Peter, that I would go to Rome to pray at his tomb, less out of my anxiety for my own safety than for all yours. Tell me, Boris Petrowicz," thus he addressed Szeremetow, "what are the country and the towns like? As you have been in those parts you must be able to tell all about them." Szeremetow praised the amenity and beauty of the country, and the Czar subjoined: "Some of you shall come with me when I am going there; when the Turk has been humbled, I will acquit myself of my vow."

His late most serene mother tried to discourage him from this project, and through her the Russians suggested many figments against the Apostolic see. His answer to her was: "If you had not been my mother I could hardly restrain myself. My veneration for that name pleads your excuse for what you have dared to speak. But know that death is the penalty that awaits whosoever henceforward shall presume to blame my intention or resist it." And to Rome assuredly he would have gone in performance of his vow, had not such pressing dangers summoned him back to Moscow, on the breaking out of a revolt in his realm.

With what spirit, too, he labored to introduce into Muscovy those polite arts that had for ages been proscribed there, may be easily gathered from his having sent into various countries of Europe,—into Germany, Italy, England, and Holland,—the most

talented children of his principal subjects, in order that they might learn — by intercourse, the wisdom and arts of the most polished nations, and on their return be ornaments of Muscovy, and in their turn excite their juniors to like deserts. He made known his reasons for this plan, some years ago, to his Boyars, explaining its utility to them. They all commended the monarch's prudence, but insinuated that such immense good, however desirable it might be, was unattainable. That the genius of the Muscovites was unsuited to such pursuits; that the money expended on it would be wasted in vain; and that he would fatigue himself and his subjects with profitless labor. The Czar was indignant at these sayings, which were only worthy of the profound ignorance of those that gave utterance to them.

For they liked their benighted darkness, and nothing but shame at their own deformity was capable of drawing them into the light. "Are we then born less blest than other nations," the Czar continued, "that the divinity should have infused inept minds into our bodies? Have we not hands? Have we not eyes? Have we not the same habit of body that suffices foreign nations for their internal culture? Why have we alone degenerate and rude souls? Why should we alone be left out as unworthy of the glory of human science? By Hercules! We have the same minds; we can do like other folk if we only will it. For nature has given to all mankind the

same groundwork and seed of virtues; we are born to all those things; when the stimulus is applied, all those properties of the soul that have been, as it were, sleeping, shall be awakened."

The greatest things may be expected from such a Prince. Let the Muscovites congratulate themselves on the treasure they possess in him, for they are now really fortunate. He chose his wife in the family of Lubochin, and she bore him a son named Alexis Petrowicz,¹ a youth splendidly gifted and adorned with ingenuous virtues, on whom rest the hopes of his father, and the fortunes and tranquillity of Muscovy.

ESPOUSALS OF THE CZAR.—Different times call for different manners. It may, indeed, formerly have been the practice in Russia to assemble all the maidens of Muscovy that were of comely form and remarkable beauty when the Czar was thinking of marrying, in order that he might select whichever pleased him best. But the custom is become obsolete; and the marriages of the Czars have of late been mostly decided by the advice of those who by official rank or favor were raised to the honor of standing beside the throne. Polygamy, too, has fallen into desuetude, and they hold it to be sinful to share the nuptial bed with a number of select concubines. But should the Czarina be sterile, the Czar may shut her up in a monastery, and is at

¹ See *Appendix*.

liberty to look out for a more fruitful union. Besides sterility there are other causes of repudiation. We must believe that other sovereigns do nothing rashly, though we, as it often happens, cannot account for their motives. Thus, the wife of the present Czar, who, as she bore him a prince, could by no means be said to be sterile, has nevertheless been repudiated — a divorce which, no doubt, is grounded upon most grave causes, the weight of which we may perhaps conjecture from the fact that when the Czar was lying outside of Azow he refused to return until he should be certain that his wife's head had been shaved, and that she had been shut up in a monastery called Sustalski, about thirty miles distant from Moscow.

To seek for a wife among foreign princes has, up to this, been a perilous experiment for a Czar, the Boyars and leading people holding out vain apprehensions that by the foreign marriages foreign and new-fangled manners would be most perniciously substituted in their country, that ancient usages would become corrupted, the purity of the religion of their fathers be imperilled, and, in short, all Muscovy be exposed to the utmost danger. And the only reason they allege for the poisoning of Czar Feodor Alexiowicz is that he had chosen a wife out of the Polish family of Lupropin. At length some hope is dawning that a gentler spirit is beginning to breathe over Muscovy, in order to the perfect development of

which the Czar has taken some new measures of exceeding wisdom, for the purpose of civilizing his subjects by more frequent intercourse with foreign nations; and they may thus come to like what they have hitherto persecuted with so much disgust! They are beginning to desire marriages with foreign nations, now that they learn that there are no holier bonds to conciliate friendship between nations, and to settle wars — nay, how often they give laws to the victors. Many believe that the Czar divorced the wife whom he has shut up in a convent with the design of marrying a foreigner.

THE CZAR'S COURT.—The former Grand Dukes made use of inestimable parade in their apparel and adornment, the majesty of the Pontiff being super-added to that of the King. On the head they wore a miter, glittering with pearls and priceless gems; in the right hand they bore an exceedingly rich pastoral staff; their fingers were covered with rings of gold; and above the throne on which they sat, there was fixed to the right an image of Christ, and to the left one of the most Holy Virgin Mother. The presence and ante-chambers were thronged with men clad in golden vesture and other precious insignia to the very feet.

But the present Czar, a great contemner of all pomp and ostentation about his own person, rarely makes use of that superfluous multitude of attendants. Nor do the Boyars or nobles about the Court

use the proud old garb, having learnt by the example of the Grand Duke that luxury in dress is an empty thing, and that living in fine houses does not constitute wisdom. The Czar himself, when going through his capital, is often accompanied by two, and at most three or four, of his more intimate attendants; feeling even in the perilous time of the military revolt, a confidence in the simple respect of his subjects for majesty. For in former times the Muscovites obeyed their sovereign less like subjects than bought slaves, looking upon him more in the light of a god than a sovereign; so that one often used to hear among the Muscovites (what the vulgar still continually say) "*God only and the Grand Duke know that: everything that we have of health and comfort proceeds from the Grand Duke.*" This reverence of his people recalled Ivan Basilowicz to the throne of his forefathers, when, after unheard-of atrocities, he had, out of fear of just vengeance, betaken himself to the retirement of a monastery; whether it would be that respect for the royal name, which those who live under monarchy revere as something sacred, or innate veneration for their sovereign, or their trust in one who had held the reigns of government already, drove these men, born for subjection, into loyal obedience.

Sedition was almost utterly unknown in Muscovy of old; now you would think the rebellions must be chained one to another. Hydra's head did not

sprout faster than fresh rebellions spring out of the very graves of traitors. Hercules thoroughly subdued Hydra by fire; but the restless audacity of the Muscovites feeds upon flames like a Salamander. Is it the iron age that has banished olden fidelity and affection, and reverence for their sovereign, even from among the dregs of the populace? Yet the custom still exists of prostrating themselves on the ground in worship of the Czar, as if his place were nearly as exalted in power as God's. As for the rest, a throng of nobles-Sin-Boyaren, as they call them (that is, sons of Boyars),—perform the daily ministrations. But there is nothing seemly in the service, no cleanliness among the servers; so that the mere rudeness of their unpolished manners and their filthy service would suffice to distinguish this from every other court in Europe.

When the table is being laid for the Czar no flourish of trumpets summons the courtiers to their functions; but one of them cries out in a stentorian voice, "*Gosudar Cuschinum, Gosudar Cuschinum*" (that is, "*The Grand Duke wants to eat.*") The cups in which the drink is presented to the Czar are made of gold and silver, in sooth, but so coated with filth that it is hard to discover which precious metal lies hidden beneath the dirt. There is no order in the arrangement of the viands; they are thrown higgledy-piggledy; and they are generally torn asunder, not carved. There was a reverential old custom which

forbade the admission of any person to the table of former Czars. They used to dine alone; but they were accustomed to send some dishes from their table to any of the Boyars that they wished to honor with an especial mark of favor. The present Czar, on the other hand, considers it a decided affront to kings that they should be repelled from the pleasures of private society, arguing why should a barbarous and inhuman law be enacted against kings alone, to prevent them enjoying the society of anybody? So that, neglecting the proud solitude of his own table, he is fond of conversing and dining with his advisers, with the German officers, with merchants, and even with the ambassadors of foreign princes. Though this be sovereignly displeasing to the Muscovites, yet, as they must needs obey, they had to adopt the same fashions, and often exhibit a smiling countenance upon compulsion.

THE CZAR'S RESIDENCE.—It is called the Kremlin — is surrounded with a stone wall two miles and nine hundred paces in circumference, and comprises several very handsome structures belonging to the noblesse within the ambit of its enclosure, several bazaars, several churches — as, for example, the Church of the Archangel Michael, which contains the royal tombs. Blagavesine, or the Church of the Annunciation, is remarkable for its nine towers, the roofs of which, as well as the whole church, are covered with gilt copper, and the highest tower thereof

is surmounted with a cross of pure gold, of immense value. Ivan Veliskoy, or the Church of Saint John, the tower roof of which is gilt, has a number of bells, one of which, the largest in the world, weighs two thousand two hundred poods, or sixty-six thousand pounds of our weight. Within the same regal precinct, preëminent among the other chanceries, stands that called the Posolki Pricas, or Ambassadorial Chancery, wherein all affairs concerning the conditions of the state and negotiations with foreign princes are expedited. All strangers, too, are dependent thereon. The chambers and apartments intended for the monarch's dwelling are ordained with sumptuous pomp of decorations and hangings, and for size and splendor yield in nothing to the chief palaces in Europe.

In another part of the fortress there is a stud of various breeds of blood horses, a kind of little Sybarite army, as it were. Horses, to be prized by the Muscovites, must be tall and showy. They like those of Arabia and Altenburgh. Muscovy possesses a native breed of horses exceedingly commendable for their fleetness; they call them *pachmaten*. The Czar's predecessors used to appoint chases of different kinds in the various districts of their dominions, the monarch reserving hawking for his own pleasure. The reigning sovereign, on the contrary, is attracted by other matters — the art of war, fireworks, the roar of artillery, shipbuilding, the dangers

of the sea, and sets the arduous pursuit of glory above all pleasures and amusements. He went through the military functions from the very lowest rank, and would not ascend the throne of his ancestors, and mount the pinnacle of sovereign power, before he had passed through all the grades of military rank to the highest, that of General-in-Chief (Campicucis), so glorious does he esteem it to have merited dignity before possessing it.

OF FEMALE LUXURY.—The women of Muscovy are graceful in figure, and fair and comely of feature: but spoil their beauty with needless shams. Their shapes, unimprisoned by stays, are free to grow as nature bids, and are not so neat and trim of figure as those of other Europeans. They wear chemises interwoven with gold all through, the sleeves of which are plaited up in a marvelous way, being eight and sometimes ten ells in length, and their pretty concatenation of little plaits extends down to the hands, and is confined with handsome and costly bracelets. Their outer garments resemble those of Eastern women: they wear a cloak over their tunic. They often dress in handsome silks and furs, and earrings and rings are in general fashion among them.

Matrons and widows cover the head with furs of price; maidens only wear a rich band round their forehead and go bareheaded, with their locks floating

upon their shoulders, and arranged with great elegance in artificial knots.

Those of any dignity or honorable condition are not urged to be present at banquets, nor do they even sit at the ordinary table of their husbands. They may be seen, nevertheless, at present when they go to church or drive out to visit their friends; for there has been a great relaxation of the jealous old rule which required women only to go out in carriages so closed up, that the very use of the eyesight was denied to these creatures made bond slaves to a master. Moreover they hold it among the greatest honors that can be paid if a husband admits his guest to see his wife or daughters, who present a glass of brandy, and expect a kiss from the favored guest; and according to the manner of this people, duly propitiated with this, they withdraw in silence, as they came. They exercise no authority in their households. When the master is absent from house, the servants have full charge of the management of the affairs of the house, according to their honesty or caprice, without asking or acquainting the wife about anything. But the more wealthy maintain great crowds of handmaidens, who do scarcely any work, except what trifling things the wife may require of them; meantime, they are kept shut up in the house, and spin and weave linen. With such a lazy life one cannot blame the custom which con-

demned the poor creatures to such frequent use of the bath, so that their idleness may be at least varied from time to time with another description of sloth.

Whenever the wife of a man of the higher classes is delivered of a child, they signify it without delay to the employees and tradesmen, with rather a beggarly kind of civility. Those who dread the husband's power, or are ambitious of his patronage, on receiving notice of the new birth, come to offer their congratulations in return; and giving a kiss to the mother, they present some offering as a token for the new-born babe. They had better beware not to give less than a gold piece, for that would be a kind of vili-pending; but everybody is free to be more generous in his gift. He that is found to be the most liberal will be deemed the best friend. What the poet sang of the populace, I apply with greater justice to the Muscovites — the Muscovite tests friendship by its utility. It is a fable that they value the affection of their husbands for them by the amount of blows they receive from them; for they know how to distinguish between ferocious and gentle characters better than words can tell. If any person of weight were to make a beginning of abandoning the old usage, they would certainly struggle from beneath that most vile bondage in which they are held towards their husbands.

The Muscovites hold it sinful to marry a fourth wife; in consequence of which the third is in general

treated famously, although her two predecessors are treated like bond-slaves; for the thoughts of a new wife, and their inordinate desires induce them to wish for their speedy death, and render the charms of the first loathsome, perhaps even within the brief space of a year. It is quite a proverb, that a pope may have one and a layman a third wife. Because when they die it is unlawful for them to marry again, and the Muscovites treat these with true marital affection, as they never can expect to marry again when these die. Nevertheless, some of the more powerful extort a dispensation from the Patriarch to marry a fourth time; and the Patriarch, even though he does not refuse it, still blames them as sacrilegious nuptials, that are null in virtue of the immutable authority of the prohibitive law.

The Don Cossacks have another custom. They may repudiate women *ad libitum* provided it be in the circle of the whole community, which assembly they call a Krug. In presence of the Hetmann and the entire community the man leads his wife into the middle of the circle, and proclaims that she pleases him no longer; this said, he twirls his wife round about, and letting her go, pronounces her free from his marital authority. The bystander who takes hold of the discarded woman is compelled to keep her as a wife, and protect and maintain her until the next assembly day. Still the laws of these barbarians have established rules for repudiation; so that

they are not valid, except in circle and with the whole community as witnesses.

OF MARRIAGES.—The fashion of their marriage differs in a slight degree from the mode which a long series of ages has sanctioned in other countries. For among them the men are not accustomed to see or speak to the girl they want to marry; the question is popped through the mother, or some other old woman, when the parents, without whose consent they consider marriage to be illicit, have agreed about the dowry, which is sometimes proportioned to the wealth of the old people. For it is not moral among them for the husband to promise anything, nor have they any word to express a donation on account of marriage. But if the husband die without issue of the marriage, the widow receives as much as she brought, provided the husband has left property to that amount. If, however, she has had children by him, she takes the third part of the goods, or more according to her husband's will. Finally, they draw up marriage articles, in which the girl's parents warrant her undefiled; whence many lawsuits arise, if the husband should have the least suspicion that she was previously seduced. When these are completed, the betrothed girl sends the first gift to her intended, which he reciprocates. Still they are neither allowed to see nor speak to one another.

When the promise of marriage has been given, the father summons his daughter, who comes covered

with a linen veil into his presence; and asking her whether she be still minded to marry, he takes up a new rod, which has been kept ready for the purpose, and strikes his daughter lightly once or twice, saying, "Lo! my darling daughter, this is the last that shall admonish thee of thy father's authority, beneath whose rule thou hast lived until now. Now thou art free from me. Remember that thou hast not so much escaped from sway, as rather passed beneath that of another. Shouldst thou behave not as thou oughtest towards thy husband, he in my stead shall admonish thee with this rod." With this the father, concluding his speech, stretches at the same time the whip to the bridegroom, who excusing himself briefly according to custom, says that he "believes he shall have no need of this whip"; but he is bound to accept it, and put it up under his belt, like a valuable present.

Now, towards the evening which precedes the solemn nuptials, the bride is conducted by her mother and other matrons in a carriage, or, if it should be winter, in a sledge, with her marriage *trousseau* and a nuptial bed, elegantly appareled, to the bridegroom's house, and there she is guarded over-night, so that she may not be seen by her husband. Early in the morning of the day appointed for the marriage ceremony the bride, with a linen veil which covers her from the head to below the middle, is conducted to church by her parents and friends; the bride-

groom, on his part, being accompanied by his friends; even poor men using horses, though the church may be close to their door. The ceremonies and words which the priest makes use of hardly differ from those used among other Christians. It is with a ring that the pledge of fidelity is ratified, and the hand of the bride is put into the hand of the bridegroom, which done, the bride falls to the bridegroom's feet and touches his shoes with her forehead, in token of subjection; and the bridegroom, in his turn, puts his tunic over her, in testimony that he undertakes to protect her. Then the kinsfolk and friends bow to both bridegroom and bride, as a pledge of mutual willingness to oblige and of friendship to be cherished. Finally the bridegroom's father presents a loaf to the priest who forthwith hands it to the bride's father, begging him to pay the dowry he has promised to the bridegroom on the day appointed, and henceforward to maintain inviolate friendship with him and his friends. In like manner, too, he breaks the bride's loaf into many pieces, and distributes a bit to each of the relatives and connections present, to signify that they should henceforward be kneaded together like a loaf.

These ceremonies being at an end, the bridegroom leads the bride by the hand to the church porch, and pours out a cup of hydromel for her, which she sips beneath her veil, and thus both return with their friends to the house of the parents. There grain is

strewn on the threshold as a token of fertility and plenty and while the guests are regaling themselves the newly wedded couple proceed to the consummation of the marriage. After they have reposed for some two or three hours upon the nuptial couch, some of the banqueters are assigned to go to them and inquire of the bridegroom whether he has found the bride a virgin. If he answers in the affirmative to the great joy of the guests, the bridal couple are led amid dancing to the bath which has been adorned with sweet smelling herbs. Having bathed to their pleasure, they are led back to the banquet hall where they receive an abundance of congratulation. If on the other hand the bridegroom complains that the bride has already been seduced, she is repudiated and sent back to her parents. Not even the chastity of our age could improve upon this test for determining virginity.

VIII

A WINTER IN MOSCOW

1st November, 1698.—A certain envoy from the north was aware that the Czar had slept the night before at the house of the Danish Commissioner, Baudenan. Thither, therefore, he went, expecting by this humble court to win greater favor than others. Nor was he wrong in his reckoning, for the Czar took him to show him the great *Iwan*, the largest bell in the world. But he was near losing in a moment whatever share of favor he had laboriously gathered. Along with the other representatives he had come by invitation with the Czar to a banquet, which was sumptuously prepared by the Prime Minister, Lco Kirilowicz Galizin. He had sat down next the Czar, and united with the other representatives, and the Czar's ministers had implored him — and long he resisted — to shorten the long-sufferings of the criminals that were set upon the wheel yesterday, and who were still alive, by sending a bullet through them. The favorite, Gabriel, who was charged with the execution of this, announced at his return that one of the condemned had lived some

time, even after the bullet: whence the Czar took occasion to tell the following story:—A coachman in Poland was so wounded by the chance explosion of a firelock that he was carrying in his hand, that the bullet, entering through his mouth, had gone out again at the occiput; notwithstanding which he survived nine days. The envoy above mentioned, auguring the success of the whole day from his early court, treated the matter as something too portentous and prodigious. But the Czar asseverated all the more strongly in proportion as he saw the envoy's amazement to be great; and as the latter at last brought up some physical reasons, and was philosophizing with perilous ambition, adding that it would be hard to persuade him of it, the Czar, wroth that the truth of his word should be so pertinaciously impugned, called upon General Carlowitz to repeat the whole story from the beginning. When Carlowitz had told it just the same, the Czar thus addressed, with a certain indignation, the philosopher that had thus publicly cast doubt upon him: "Dost thou believe now? If it should happen still to be beyond belief, I will write to the King of the Poles, that I may prove my veracity to you by his testimony." During dinner there was question about the differences between countries; the one that lay next Muscovy was very ill spoken of. The minister who comes thence replied that for his part he had noticed a great many things in Muscovy that were deserving

of censure. The Czar retorted, "If thou wert a subject of mine, I would add thee as a companion to those of mine that are now hanging from the gibbet, — for I well know what thy speech alludes to." The Czar, of set purpose, sought an opportunity of setting the same personage to dance with his fool, a laughing-stock for his court, amidst a general titter; and yet the personage did not understand what a shameful trick was being played upon him, until the Imperial Lord Envoy, who had always a great deal of influence with him, had quietly given him warning, through one of his intimates, not to forget the dignity of his office. By another jesting interpretation he understood the slaps which a sacred hand inflicted as being a token of affection! Thus the acts of others sometimes borrow so completely their denomination from our own interpretations, that we see frequently the same acts, according to the chances of time and natural character, at one time taken for insults, and at another for favors.

2nd, November, 1698.—His Majesty the Czar being about to start for Veroneje, ordered a dinner to be prepared by his general, Lefort, and all the other representatives, as well as the chief Boyars, to be invited. The Czar came later than usual, having doubtless been engaged in some affairs of no light moment; even at table, without taking notice of the presence of the representatives, he still continued discussing some points with his Boyars; but the con-

sultation was next thing to an altercation — neither words nor hands being spared, every one being excited beyond measure, each defending his own opinion with obstinacy, and with a warmth perilous beneath the eye of Majesty. They differed so widely that they almost abused one another. Two, whose lowlier rank excused them from mingling in this knotty discussion, sought to win the favor due to a capital funny joke by another description of clownishness, trying, as something quite fine, to hit one another's heads with the bread which they found upon the table; for they all, in their own way, did their best to give genuine proofs of their true origin. Yet even among the Muscovite guests some there were whose more modest speech with their Prince betokened high character of soul. An undisturbable gravity of manners was remarkable in the aged Prince Leo Hugowicz Tzerkaski; ripe prudence of counsel characterized Boyar Golowin; an apt knowledge of public affairs was distinguishable in Artemonowicz; — men who shone all the more, as their species was evidently very rare. The last that I have named, indignant that so many, and such a variety of madmen, should be admitted to a royal banquet, addressing the Dumnoi of the Siberian *Pricassa* in Latin (which he knows well), exclaimed aloud: “*Stultorum plena sunt omnia*,” (*i. e.*, “the whole place is full of fools,”) so that his words might easily reach the ears of all that knew Latin.

Dancing followed immediately after the table was removed; and now took place the dismissal of the Envoy of the Poles. The Czar broke hastily away, quite unexpectedly, from the gay crowd, into a place next the dining-room, where the glasses and drinking cups and various kinds of drinkables were kept, commanding the Envoy of Poland to follow him. Thither crowded after him the whole body of the guests eager to know what was the case. Impeded by their own haste, they had not all got into the room, when the letters recredential had been already handed to the Polish Envoy and the Czar coming out again, put to the blush those that were still trying and pushing to get in. At the intercession of General Lefort, two Dutch sea-captains, guilty of notorious disobedience, and who had been condemned to death by a court-martial, were brought in to the Czar, and after previously craving pardon, cast themselves at his feet, and, receiving back their swords from his own hand, were restored to life, honor, and their former functions,—an immense lesson of the Czar's sovereign clemency. He then bade farewell, with a kiss, to all the Boyars and representatives,—indeed in an especial manner to the Imperial Lord Envoy — excepting the Pole, who having got his recredentials, appeared to be severed from further salutation of his Majesty.

4th November, 1698.—By public order, all who have shops in the streets near the Castle of the

Kremlin, have been commanded to destroy them without any subterfuge, as quickly as possible, under penalty of confiscation of goods, and corporeal pains at discretion. They will have it, that the motive of this edict is the beautifying and ornamenting of the city.

The Czar's banquet, at which it is the old custom and usage to receive representatives on their departure, was given to the Lord Envoy of Poland.

5th November, 1698.—In virtue of yesterday's ukase, the shops near the Castle of the Kremlin are already destroyed, so urgent is obedience.

By another ukase of the Czar, all tolerably grown and robust boys are to be sent to Veroneje, to learn shipbuilding from the workmen there. The first 200, who are to be sent from thence into Holland, began their journey to-day. Two sons of the late General Menzies were let off, on the grounds of their weakly age.

8th November, 1698.—Doctor Zoppot, having complained to General Lefort of his interpreter being carried off by force, Romadonowski sent him back to-day upon compulsion. A clerk from the Czar's chancery brought a monkey to the same physician with an order for him to exert his skill to cure him. Zoppot excused himself on the ground of his ignorance of the Russian idiom, and suggested his colleague Carbonari as more capable of the cure, on account of his skill in that tongue.

26th November, 1698.—Although the late inhuman and most atrocious execution of rebels had cut off by halter, blade, and wheel, some thousands of men in a few days, still Muscovy is not cleansed of all the dregs of treason. As soon as the Czar's Majesty left for Veroneje, the secret meetings of some troublous spirits struck fear into the minds of the well-disposed that stubborn civil war might rise again more fierce then ever. This suspicion is still dissembled till notice be quietly given to the Czar's Majesty of it; that he may so provide in time a strong remedy for the mischief once more afoot, before it gathers strength.

A courier that was sent off to his Majesty last night to Veroneje, with letters and some valuable utensils, was violently seized on the stone bridge at Moscow, and robbed — the letters, indeed, with the seals broken, were found scattered on the bridge at daybreak; but whither the utensils — whither the courier himself has been carried, there was no trace to indicate. This deed is imputed to the treasonable conspirators; and it is presumed that the courier has been thrust beneath the ice into the waters of the river Neglina.

4th December, 1698.—Seventy of the Moscow night-robbers were seized, of whom two executioners, that were formerly popes, were the first to be put to the rack.

16th December, 1698.—One of the sea-captains,

spending the night with his wife at the house of a Boyar, and in the night-time being invited to drive out sleighing, for pleasure, along with the Boyar, found, on his return, his wife with her head cut off, and nothing could be discovered about the assassin.

21st December, 1698.—The Lord Envoy of Poland invited some Russian princes to dine with him. After copious computations, with mightily lavish generosity, he offered all that he possessed to his guests; nor were the Russians squeamish about taking what was offered. One asked for a coach and six horses, another for a pair of most costly pistols, a third for a book, which was all he saw remaining; and the Pole gave each of them what he asked, adding: "The Muscovites may see that I am taking nothing with me out of Russia that comes from them."

25th December, 1698.—A mother plotted with her daughter the death of her husband, and the cruel deed was perpetrated by two murderers hired for thirty *kreuzers*.¹ Both these women suffered the penalty due to the crime, which they confessed, and were buried up to the neck in the earth. The mother bore the intense cold until the third day; the daughter survived till the sixth. When dead, their corpses were taken out of the holes and hanged, heads downmost, to the feet of the two assassins before mentioned, who had perished by the halter. This penalty

¹ About fifteen cents.

only attaches to the murder of a husband by his wife; men who slay their wives are not punished with such rigor—nay, very often the crime is compounded for merely with money.

28th, 29th, 30th, December, 1689.—The Czar's Majesty came back from Veroneje, and held the daughter of Colonel Baron de Blumberg at the christening font. There were seventeen other sponsors along with him; and they were of almost every religion. Among the chief were—the Imperial Lord Envoy, Generals Lefort and Carlowitz, Mr. Adam Weyd. In the course of conversation, the Imperial Lord Envoy began speaking about the penalty for slaying a husband, and of the reported custom of digging up those who survived after the third day, and sending them to hard labor in some monastery. The Czar, whose ear the words had indistinctly reached, inquired what they were talking about, and when he learnt that it was about the lenity of the custom, he replied to his eager listeners, that so little was such a custom in force, that he could state that he knew himself of a woman, a long time ago, who was condemned to the same penalty, and who had expiated her crime with the death she deserved after surviving twelve days without food.

As long as the person condemned to the pit continues to drag out life, the sentries on guard are commanded, under the most severe corporal penalty, to admit no food or drink whatever to the criminal

which restore her strength, so as to make her bear longer tortures. That night the Czar is said to have gone to her and examined her, perhaps with a design of clemency, should she be found deserving of it; but the greatness of the crime stood in his way, and pardon of such an extremely atrocious example seemed dangerous. Others averred that the Czar wanted to have one of the soldiers on guard free her from further torment of this slow death by shooting her; but General Lefort cried out against this idea, that it was not for a soldier to shoot a woman, and that woman found guilty of death; upon which and some other squeamish word in addition, the Czar in a passion ordered that the wretched creature should be left until death came for her.

31st December, 1698.—General Lefort received the Czar and two hundred guests of the highest nobility to a most sumptuous banquet. The Czar was so exasperated at the exceedingly base calumnies of two,² who, by reason of their holding the highest rank after the Czar, were become rivals, that he loudly threatened he would cut short the dispute with the head of one or the other — whichever should be found most in fault. He commissioned Prince Romadonowski to examine into the affair; and with a violent blow of his clenched hand thrust back Gen-

² The personages here alluded to are Nareskin, the Czar's maternal uncle, who held the function of Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Prince Boris Galizin, Viceroy of Cassan and Astracan.—Transl.

eral Lefort, who was coming up to mitigate his fury.

1st, 2nd, January, 1699.—All the Boyars came to the Czar in Bebraschentsko by command. The question of peace or war was debated.

A peasant was found dead, with several wounds, in the German Slowoda; the cuts showed that he was murdered with a knife; but as no trace could be found of the robber — who had fled — the crime had to go unpunished.

Rebels brought here from Azow paid the penalty of their treason. Among those implicated was a pope whom the Czar himself, with his own hand, laid low with the ax. Likewise six coiners suffered the same penalty; the false money was poured molten down their throats.

3rd January, 1699.—To-day, being the eve of our Lord's Nativity (old style), which is preceded by a Russian fast of seven weeks, all the markets and public thoroughfares are to be seen plenished to overflowing with flesh meats. Here you have an incredible multitude of geese; in another place such store of pigs, ready killed, that you would think it enough to last the whole year; the number of oxen killed is in proportion; fowl of every kind looked as if they had flown together from all Muscovy, and every part thereof, into this one city. It would be useless to attempt naming all the varieties. Everything that one could wish for was to be had.

One of the Boyars was abusing the freedom of

speech rather too much in the Czar's presence, in Bebraschentsko; but he has been castigated bodily, and the smart of the stripes has duly impressed upon him how much it behoveth to be of reverent speech with his sovereign.

6th January, 1699.—A woman who had killed both her husband and her mother was questioned, by what impulses she had been driven to commit a crime so impious and inhuman — whether she did not know with what cruel rigor crimes of that kind were avenged? To the amazement of the inquirer, she replied, with a fearless front: “I lately saw two women found guilty of killing a husband awaiting a slow death in their pits: I neither doubt that the same torment awaits me, nor do I crave for any favor; it is enough for me that, having killed my husband and my mother I can rejoice at so bold a deed.” The ordinary penalty of the pit was sharpened in her case, by burning her limbs in addition.

8th, 9th January, 1699.—The Czar was dining with Prince Galizin, when a sudden tumult announced that a fire had broken out, and had already consumed the house of a certain Boyar. The Czar, excited at this, springing hastily from the table and running headlong to the place where he had heard the fire was raging, not only gave his advice, but actually employed his own hands in putting out the flames, and was seen laboring away among the very tottering ruins of the house.

12th January, 1699.—A certain juggler (in the vernacular, *Taschenspieler*) reached Muscovy a long time ago, with mighty hopes of making a fortune by his art in such far off lands. Coming from his native Scotland, he ambitiously used to boast that he was of the stock of those the splendor of whose illustrious blood General de Gordon had proved to Muscovy by his noble deeds. It seems that his claim might have been acknowledged, if the baseness of a jester's art, which was his sole profession, had not condemned him to be injuriously treated as base-born; nor had the fierce eagles procreated a timid dove. Fate led this poor devil, cast off by his proud kin, by an unbroken chain of calamity to his utter destruction at last. Falling into a brawl with a captain whose name was Schmid, he forged³ the last link of his misfortunes. The captain's wife rushing in with her two grown-up daughters to help her husband, who was grappling with the juggler, and almost on the point of succumbing; the number of hands upon him drove the juggler to fiercer counsels; so snatching the dirk which he carried, he struck so deep into the captain's side, that his life's blood gushed forth and he expired. When the deed of

³ "Forged," a pun upon the name Schmid; the German equivalent of the English patronymic *Smith*, respecting which a rare and quaint heraldic writer, Morgan, in his "Sphere of Gentry" (London 1660-1661) reflects: "Whence cometh Smith, or whether he be knight or squire? But from the *Smith* that forgeth in the fire?" Transl.

death was done he fled to the Lord Envoy of Poland for sanctuary; but it was an unhappy thought, for the Envoy, being on the point of leaving Muscovy from day to day, was in doubt whether he could convey the poor wretch safely away, and so he himself hastily, and too thoughtlessly, conducted the man in a sledge from the Ambassadorial Court into the German suburb,—from a place of asylum and safe concealment into open peril of prison, life, and execution; fancying that he would be longer safely hidden in Colonel de Gordon's house, who was in the Czar's service, and had a right to give orders to anybody, than among those whom the unanimous consent of nations far and wide has surrounded with a barrier, as it were, sacred, legal and inviolate. The Envoy's going in person in the evening, and in such turbulent haste, towards the German Slowoda, gave rise to a suspicion of whom he was bringing. No sooner was he brought back than, trace of him being found, the juggler was delivered up, upon summons of the head man; the sentence of the populace, as usual, having decreed peculiarly atrocious pains for him for having deprived a wife of her husband and left four children fatherless. Under the penal question, the pangs of which he thrice bore to the envy of the Muscovites, he alleged the necessity he was under of killing in his own defense, that he was driven to that crime in order to escape being strangled by the other, as was imminent.

A serf had been pardoned of the treacherous slaying of his master; but the Czar having acquired the certainty of his having committed a fresh manslaughter to-day, commanded him to be cast into irons and executed.

13th January, 1699.—A sumptuous comedy celebrates the time of Our Lord's Nativity. The chief Muscovites, at the Czar's choice, shine in various sham ecclesiastical dignities. One represents the Patriarch, others Metropolitans, Archimandrites, Popes, Deacons, Sub-Deacons, etc. Each, according to whichever denomination of these the Czar has given him, has to put on the vestments that belong to it. The scenic Patriarch, with his sham metropolitans and the rest in eighty sledges, and to the number of two hundred, makes the round of the city of Moscow and the German Slowoda, ensigned with crosses, miter, and the other insignia of his assumed dignity. They all stop at the houses of the richer Muscovites and German officers, and sing the praises of the new-born Deity in strains for which the inhabitants of those houses have to pay dearly. After they had sung the praises of the new-born Deity at his house, General Lefort recreated them all with pleasanter music, banqueting and dancing.

14th January, 1699.—The wealthiest merchant of Muscovy, whose name is Filadilow, gave such offense by having only presented twelve roubles to the

Czar and his Boyars, who sung the praises of God, new-born, at his house, that the Czar, with all possible speed, sent off a hundred of the populace to the house of the merchant, with a mandate to pay forthwith to every one of them a rouble each. But Prince Tzerkasky, whom they had nicknamed the richest rustic, was rendered more prudent by what befell his neighbor;—in order not to merit the Czar's anger he offered a thousand roubles to the mob of singers. It behoved the Germans to make show of equal readiness. Everywhere they keep the table ready with cold viands, not to be found unprepared.

15th, 16th January, 1699.—The festival of the Three Kings, or rather the Epiphany of Our Lord, was graced with the blessing of the river Neglina. The Lord Envoy went to see this grand annual solemnity from the windows of the Ambassadorial chancery which looks out upon the river. The procession to the river, which was frozen over, went in this order: General de Gordon's regiment opened the line, Major Menzies at their head instead of Colonel Gordon; the exquisite red of their new uniforms adding to their splendid appearance. Gordon's regiment was followed by another, called Behraschentsko, in handsome new green uniforms; the Tsar had taken the place of its chief, his fine port winning respect for Majesty. There followed a third regiment, which they call Semonowski, the good

grace of which a dwarf drummer increased in the same proportion as nature had curtailed in his person the common stature of mankind. The soldiers' uniforms were blue. Every regiment had two bands of musicians, each composed of eighteen instrumentalists. The Bebraschentsko regiment was followed by eight, and the others by six pieces of cannon. Almost all the officers of these regiments are German by birth or origin. A place was railed off upon the ice-bound river. Gordon's regiment was drawn up across the stream above, Semonowski below, and that of Bebraschentsko longitudinally about the place where the enclosure was erected. That week General Lefort's regiment happened to be on guard, in consequence of which two companies of it escorted the clergy, and two more, with white wands in their hands, made way and kept off the pressure of the crowd. Immediately in front of the ropes, went twelve *semskoi* (sewers of the Czar's kitchen) carrying brooms to keep the streets clean. Five hundred ecclesiastics, sub-deacons, deacons, priests, abbots, bishops, and archbishops, clad in the vestments proper to their dignity and office, and gleaming with ornament of gold and silver, and gems and precious stones, lent an air of greater majesty to devotion. Before a splendid gold cross twelve clerics bore a lantern with three burning wax lights; the Muscovites consider it unlawful and shameful for the cross to appear in public unattended with lights.

An incredible multitude of people had thronged from every side; the streets were full; the roofs of the houses covered; the walls of the city crowded with spectators. When the clergy had filled the ample space of the enclosure, the sacred ceremonies began, multitudes of wax-torches being lighted up before the Divine invocations commenced. When the Almighty had been invoked according to their ritual, the Metropolitane went around incensing the whole enclosure, in the middle of which the ice was broken with a mattock, allowing the water to appear like a well. This he thrice incensed, and hallowed it by thrice dipping a burning wax-light into it, and by the customary benediction. Near the enclosure there was erected a pillar higher than its walls, from which he who had been deemed worthy of that honor by the Tsar, waved the standard of the realm. To be chosen by the Tsar for this office is considered to be a very special favor of his Majesty, a more ample argument of which you have in their being customarily presented with new garments from head to foot, and with some gold pieces besides, at the Tsar's pleasure, on this occasion. The standard in question is white, with a double-headed eagle embroidered in gold. It is not allowed to be unfurled till the clergy have entered within the enclosure of the stage. Then the standard bearer has to watch the ceremonies, the incensing, the blessing — each of which he indicates by waving the standard. His

motions are closely observed by the regimental standard-bearers, in order to wave at the same time as he does.

When the benediction of the water is over, all the regimental standards approach and stand around to be duly sprinkled with the hallowed water. The Patriarch or in his absence, the Metropolit, leaving the enclosure or choir, bestowed this sprinkling upon his Majesty the Tsar, and all the soldiers. To complete the solemnity of the festival, at the Tsar's word of command the artillery of all the regiments roared out, which was responded to by a triple volley of musketry. Before the ceremony began, a vessel — not unlike a sarcophagus in shape — covered with red cloth, in which the hallowed water was to be carried to his Majesty the Tsar's palace, was drawn hither by six of his Majesty's white horses. Clerics bore a vessel for the Patriarch also, and several others for the Boyars and Magnates.

18th January, 1699.— Many of the sailor serfs that were lately taken to Holland, and who have just come back to Muscovy, have married, though they left lawfully wedded wives behind them in Holland. This having come to the knowledge of General and Admiral Lefort, he prohibited all pastors of churches, parsons and missionaries of whatsoever religion, from presuming to unite or join any person in marriage without his foreknowledge and special consent. This prohibition rested on just grounds; for other-

wise it would have been easy for these most inconstant men to trample heaven, religion and good morals under foot, and fall headlong into that most pestilent madness, polygamy.

19th, 20th January, 1699.—The Czar's physician, Gregory Marinowicz Carbonari de Bisenegg, dining with us, was summoned by Gosen, the apothecary, to attend a sick monk. Perhaps the moon at that time had taken away the fellow's lucid interval, — for against all rule and worship, without having the decency to send in word, with the clownishness one meets in public inns, he had stalked into the room where the Lord Envoy and his guests were at dinner. All stood aghast at this impudence of a man who was scarcely known, and whom many had never seen, when, without uttering a word, he beckoned to the physician, and with a disdainful nod, summoned him to his presence. The doctor, indignant at having to deal with a madman, plainly showed that this bore was no favorite with him. The Imperial Lord Envoy, too, lost further patience with this outrageous raving fool, who seemed to be stretching the Czar's command falsely by his servants, and to be warned that if he ever again attempted anything so rash, he should not leave unpunished. For who could have believed that a man notoriously subject to fits of insanity would be employed in the service of the Sovereign?

And the doctor was all the more in doubt that the

Czar had really given such an order, from having just come from visiting that very same person. But the madman's fury grew wild. The apothecary flew helter skelter, madman like, to the Czar — vociferating with great impetuosity that the Czar's commands had been treated with contempt, that he himself had been insulted, that the doctor's disobedience was unpardonable; and he was supported in his complaints by one who is either a connection of his by marriage, or a member of the same religion. By their accusations the Czar's wrath was roused against the blameless physician, and they endeavored to make it more perilous to him by another perverse stratagem. For when the doctor, after again visiting the sick man, asked, for the sake of paying his court, to be admitted to the Czar, the ensign then on guard denied him access during two whole hours, on purpose that his apparent delay in coming, which the physician could not then explain, might give a color of truth to their iniquitous complaint. Thus it occurred that the Czar would not listen to him, when he was at length allowed admission: but ordered him, like a public criminal, to give himself up at once into the hands of the guard, and go into arrest.

About dusk, the funeral of Captain Schmid, that was lately killed, took place, the Czar attending it. I cannot omit to mention how stolidly, and with what scandal to his hearers the preacher in the course of usual discourse was not ashamed openly to say that

there could be no doubt that a man whom another had criminally slain would enjoy eternal beatitude; but that the slayer, even should he escape punishment in this world, would never get free from everlasting damnation — a judgment worthy surely of himself alone.

25th January, 1699.—The Czar's physician, Carbonari de Bisenegg, being freed from arrest to-day, when he inquired of Prince Romadonowski why he was so long kept in confinement, got no other answer than that it was done to vex him: an exceedingly pleasant and elegant jest, certainly, which, if it be not dangerous to the vexed man's life, at least imperils and risks his honor. Such vexing, certainly, does not prove him that suffers it to be in the right, but it exhibits him who inflicts it in the wrong.

28th January, 1699.—Ernest Wilhelm von Senff was kidnapped by Boyar Plesceow on his travels in a place called Zuckerman dl, and brought by force and false persuasions into Muscovy. Now he was treated most horribly in Moscow; for he got no food, but mere guass⁴ and bread. If he asked for anything else the Muscovites knocked his head against the wall. To this boy of sixteen years of age, at the utmost, Boyar Plesceow offered several girls to take his choice of the handsomest if he would first embrace the Russian religion; nay, there was a fear lest he should be depraved by another infamous

⁴ A kind of mead.

usage. He fled in tears to the Lord Envoy Imperial, for refuge, on the first day of the Christmas holidays; but the Czar, at the Boyar's instance, requested that the boy be sent to him, as it were, to be attached to his own service and court, and that he should henceforward neither feel harshness, nor want, nor violence, on account of his religion. Nevertheless, to-day being fully emancipated, he came back to the Lord Envoy.

A certain English merchant has been sentenced to pay a fine of a thousand roubles, because his brother would not pay a bill of exchange for two thousand ducats to certain Russians that were going from England to Catalonia; although the whole fault should most justly have been laid upon these very Muscovites themselves, inasmuch as they only asked for five hundred ducats when they were going away.

2nd February, 1699.—To-day Bacchus consecrated with solemn Epicurean rites, to wit with feasting, the house which the Czar lately gave to his favorite Alexasca. Last week thirty Strelitz came here from the camp at Azow to inspect the state of Moscow, and to see how they might bring their treasonable designs to bear according to their desires. But indications of their impious designs being conveyed to the Tsar, all were seized, and underwent for the first time the atrocious torture of the rack, the Tsar questioning them.

3rd February, 1699.—The Brandenburg Envoy,

reciprocating the customary civilities, visited the Imperial Lord Envoy, with the whole of his magnificent train for greater state.

While the thirty Strelitz above mentioned are undergoing torture here, again five hundred Strelitz more have revolted in the neighborhood of Moscow.

4th February, 1699.—For the fresh rebels new racks were made ready. Every Boyar is an inquisitor; to torture the guilty was deemed a token of remarkable loyalty. The officials of a certain Envoy, whose curiosity for sight-seeing had led them to Bebraschentsko, had inspected various prisons of the criminals, hastening whithersoever more atrocious howls betokened a tragedy of greater anguish. Already they passed with horror through three, when howls more appalling and groans more horrible than they had yet heard stimulated them to examine what cruelty was going on in a fourth house. But hardly had they set foot within it than they were about withdrawing again, being startled at the sight of the Tsar and the Boyars. Nareskin, Romadonowski, and Tichon Nikitowicz were the chief persons. As they were about retiring Nareskin addressed them, inquiring who they were, and whence and why they had come here. They felt sore at being caught by foreigners in the performance of that office. He then ordered an interpreter to tell them to go to Romadonowski's house, for that the *Knes* had something to say to them. When they refused the

Tsar's commands were added, with the threat, that if they would not obey their contempt should not go unpunished. Nothing dismayed by this threat, trusting in their *freedom*, they replied still more confidently to those who were giving these orders, that they listened to commands from no person whatsoever — that if the Knes had anything to say to them, he was not ignorant what Envoy's household they were, and that at his residence all could be better settled. As they were going off, one of the military officers followed them to drag them by violence to the place the Boyars had ordered, and did not hesitate to lay hands upon a horse at full gallop, to stop him; but the party of the officials was stronger both in courage and numbers; they dashed aside by main force his attempt to stop them, and reached safe shelter. Perhaps for penalty of their rash curiosity, they would have been forced to exhibit themselves before the Boyars in the same capacity as they had detected them.

5th February, 1699.—An accomplice of the rebellion was undergoing the penal question. While he was being tied to the rack, his lamentations gave rise to a hope that the truth might be pressed from him by torments; but the event was quite the contrary, for as soon as his body began to be stretched with the rope, besides the horrible crackling of his members which were being torn from their natural sockets, he remained mute, even when twenty strokes

of the knout were superadded, as if the accumulation of his pain were too great to afflict the senses. All believed that the man must be crushed with excess of calamity to such a degree, that he must have lost the power of moaning and speech. So he was loosed from the infamous rack and rope, and then asked whether he knew the persons present. To the astonishment of all, he enumerated the names of every one of them. But when they put a fresh question about the treason, once more he became utterly dumb, and did not break silence during a whole quarter of an hour, while he was roasted at a fire by the Czar's command. The Czar, tired at last of this exceedingly wicked stubbornness of the traitor, furiously raised the stick which he happened to have in his hand, and thrust it so violently into his jaws — clenched in obstinate silence — to break them open, and make him give tongue and speak. And these words, too, that fell from the raging man: "Confess, beast, confess!" loudly proclaimed how great was his wrath.

7th February, 1699.— Dr. Zoppot began to practice anatomy in the presence of the Czar and a great number of Boyars, who, to their disgust, were coerced by the Czar's commands.

One of the rebels under examination had made a dagger to kill himself, but strength failed him to complete his crime; still the wound was such that, if neglected, it would lead to death. It was the Sov-

ereign's interest that the man should not escape examination and torture by a premature death; so he commanded that every diligence should be employed by the physicians to heal his wound. Nay, he had the heart to be present and to solace the criminal-patient when the medicines were being prepared, in order that the doctors might be more attentive to do everything faithfully for the best to effect a cure on account of his presence.

12th February, 1699.—A certain foreigner, distinguished by an office which is held sacred among the nations, looking for comforts that are not compatible with the rigors of a northern climate, drank an immoderate quantity of wine, and in order to try and cool the heat of his body with the freezing air, drove round all the streets of the city in an open carriage, and did not return home until he had, by striking and banging against things, shattered the carriage so that it was no longer capable of bearing its burden and driver. He attributes it to his good luck that he was not caught by the Muscovite night-rovers, or massacred utterly, especially as the main delight of the Muscovite populace is to rob and run riot against the Germans.⁵ We had a splendid proof of this to-day. One of our messengers that knows the Russian language fell in with a Russian, who was furiously vomiting forth a quantity of foul speeches

⁵ A term used in the days of Peter the Great to designate all foreigners.

against the Germans. "Ye German dogs!" he was saying, "you have been robbing long enough at your ease, but the day is at hand when you shall suffer and pay the penalty." The messenger, in order to have another witness to this contumelious language, called a soldier, and at last ordered the rascal to be dragged off in custody; but, by command of the Imperial Lord Envoy, the fellow was left to the discretion of the soldiers, who stripped him naked and loaded him with a sound fustigation.

13th February, 1699.—A direful day is this, and one that ought truly to be marked with a black token, for it beheld the execution of two hundred men, all whose heads were cut off with the ax. In a very wide space, close to the Kremlin Castle, beams were stretched for the criminals to lay their heads upon. I measured the length myself in paces—it was two beams in breadth. His Majesty the Czar, along with a certain Alexander, in whose society he takes great delight, came thither in an open carriage, and crossing the funereal area, entered a place near at hand, where thirty that were found guilty of this nefarious conspiracy expiated their crime with death. Meanwhile the dismal crowd of criminals had filled up the space above described, and the Czar had come back in order that the men should be punished in his presence who cogitated such a crime with impious counsels against him when absent. A scribe, mounting upon a bench that was brought by

soldiers, proclaimed, in several places, the sentence framed against the rebels, that the enormity of the fault and the justice of the punishment about being inflicted, might be better known to the multitude round about. When he ceased the executioner began the tragedy; there was a kind of order among the unfortunate wretches; they all followed one another in turn, without any sadness on their features, or any horror of their imminent death. Yet I do not want to refer that contempt of death to greatness of soul. I rather think that the infamy of their atrocious guilt, and the cruel remembrance of the tortures with which they were daily butchered, had brought them to that contempt of life and self. A wife and children followed one of them up to the very beam, with great and frightful wailing. As this man was on the point of laying down, he gave his gloves and linen — all that he had left — to his wife and the sorrowful group of his beloved offspring, by way of last farewell. Another, to whose turn it came to kiss the fatal beam complained that he was forced to go innocent to death; and the Czar, who was not farther than one step away from him, answered him: "*Die, wretch! If thou be innocent, the guilt of thy blood will be mine.*"

Besides the Czar and the above-named Alexander, some others of the principal Muscovites were there. The Czar told one of them to take the ax himself; and when he would excuse himself, saying that he

had not sufficient courage for that office, he was deemed worthy of being told that he was an ass. When the execution was over, it pleased the Czar's Majesty to sup at General Gordon's; but he showed no sign of cheerfulness, insisting to several upon the obstinacy and stubbornness of the criminals. He detailed with indignant words to General Gordon and the Muscovite magnates present, that one of the condemned was so insolent that he dared, just as he was about lying down upon the beam, to address the Czar with these words: "Make way, my lord, it is for me to lie here." Out of 150, only three confessed themselves guilty of the crime and treason, and begged pardon of the Czar's Majesty there present, for which they were held worthy of their Sovereign's clemency, were freed from the penalty of death, and obtained pardon for their delict. But for next day a fresh scene of execution was being decked; and the Czar invited General Gordon to it, telling him that he wished to execute the criminals by a new mode, unknown to his people, to wit, with the sword instead of the ax. Moreover, the often-mentioned Alexander⁶ showed that evening, riding in an open carriage through all the thoroughfares of the city, by the exceedingly frequent flourishing of a naked sword how sanguinary a tragedy he expected next day.

⁶ Alexander Mentschikow. See *Appendix*.

Before it was quite dark, a certain Russian and eighteen accomplices of his were arrested and imprisoned for rapine committed.

14th February, 1699.—At the Jausa 150 rebels were dragged to execution. The Czar is said to have cut off 84 rebel heads with the sword, Boyar Plesceow holding up each criminal in such a manner by the hair as to render the blow more certain. Three swords were prepared for this use: one, while it was being brandished, flew in pieces and missed its stroke. The Cossacks who had mixed themselves up with this revolt were quartered and set upon the ignominious stake, as a terror and example of punishment to those whose restless spirits might henceforward, perhaps, tempt them to flagitious daring. Five more, guilty of more insolent counsel, had their hands and feet first cut off, and then were beheaded.

19th February, 1699.—Great is the multitude of robbers in Muscovy, and greater still their audacity. Their cruel pursuits have so obliterated human feelings and shame from their hearts, that even in the broad daylight they are not afraid to set upon the people. Just as the day was declining, but while there was still broad light, a servant of Zoppot, the Czar's physician, was attacked by one of the bandit tribe, who after rifling him, would beyond doubt, as their fashion is, have murdered him, had not the doctor, perceiving what was taking place, disturbed

the robber in his designs by coming speedily and suddenly to the rescue along with some others that fortunately he had met.

At nightfall the Imperial Lord Envoy and the rest of the representatives were invited by Colonel Baron de Blumberg, in the name of his Majesty, the Czar, to come to the suburban residence of Prince Romadonowski, to a show of fireworks. The first representation was three crowns with the legend, *vivant*; the second was a double heart, with the word, *vivat*; the third was another double heart without motto.

21st February, 1699.—A sham Patriarch and a complete set of scenic clergy dedicated to Bacchus, with solemn festivities, the palace which was built at the Czar's expense, and which it has pleased him now to have called Lefort's. A procession thither set out from Colonel Lima's house. He that bore the assumed honors of the Patriarch was conspicuous in the vestments proper to a bishop. Bacchus was decked with a miter, and went stark naked, to betoken lasciviousness to the lookers on. Cupid and Venus were the insignia on his crozier, lest there should be any mistake about what flock he was pastor of. The remaining rout of Bacchanalians came after him, some carrying great bowls full of wine, others mead, others again beer and brandy, that last joy of heated Bacchus. And as the wintry cold

hindered their binding their brows with laurel, they carried great dishes of dried tobacco leaves, with which, when ignited, they went to the remotest corners of the palace, exhaling those most delectable odors and most pleasant incense to Bacchus from their smutty jaws. Two of those pipes through which some people are pleased to puff smoke — a most empty fancy — being set crosswise, served the scenic bishop to confirm the rites of consecration. Now, who would believe that the sign of the cross — that most precious pledge of our redemption — was held up to mockery?

22nd February, 1699.—The representatives as well as the magnates of Muscovy, by invitation in the name of his Majesty the Czar, went to a banquet of regal magnificence and most sumptuous festivities to last two days, in the new palace which was dedicated with yesterday's rites to Bacchus. Prince Szeremetow, as a Knight of Malta, with the cross of the order on his breast, imitated most happily the German manners, and wore the German dress; by which, though he found favor with his prince, and was held in special honor, he won the envy of the Boyars, who feared that he would, by help of his Majesty's favor, work his way up to great and eminent power. It is in the nature of mortals to behold with evil eye the recent good fortune of anybody, and they are never more inclined to carp than

when they see any person in the saddle. The Czar perceiving some of his military officers hankering after new fashions, wearing very loose coats, cut off the cuffs that hung down too low, and thus addressed them: "See, these things are in your way; you are safe nowhere with them; at one moment you upset a glass; then you forgetfully dip them in the sauce; get gaiters made of them."

The Russians call the week that precedes the Lenten fast, *Maslaniza*,⁷ because the use of flesh is forbidden, but butter is allowed during those days. With more truth would I call them Bacchanalia, for they give themselves up to debauchery the whole time. Then they have no shame of lust, no reverence of God, and most mischievous licentiousness is the order of the day; as though crimes committed at that time were not cognizable by any judge or any fair law. Such is the confidence of the robbers, that you can hardly hear of anything else but manslaughter and funerals. There are, indeed, guards posted at certain points to prevent such mischief; but no precaution, no fear, can quell the insolent, and they are all sharers of the general vice. Several patriarchs gave themselves great pains to abolish this corrupting custom, but all that they were able to effect was, to diminish the duration of this direful custom to eight days instead of fourteen, over which it formerly extended, so that by shortening the in-

⁷ From *mazlo*, butter.

famy which inveterate abuse prevented being wholly cured, there might at least be less wounds left after it.

23rd February, 1699.—The festivities went on till to-day, nor were the guests allowed to go home to sleep; certain chambers and hours of sleep were appointed for the representatives, after which the guards were changed, and they must join in the dancing and in applauding the other dancers.

As one of the ministers was commending the favorite Alexander, that his Majesty the Czar might raise him to the equestrian order, creating him *Stolnook*, the answer is reported to have been: "Already without that he takes undue honors to himself: it is better to lessen ambition than to add to it."

28th February, 1699.—Near the Kremlin, in two places, 36 rebels, and in Bebraschenstko 150, suffered the penalty of death.

The hours of evening were adorned with pleasanter sports, and royally splendid, for there was a handsome display of fireworks to gratify the sight. In consequence of which the representatives and the Muscovite nobility went by invitation to the Lefort Palace, from which there was an excellent view of the devices of the fireworks. The Czarewicz and the Czar's favorite sister Nathalia witnessed the playful fires from the same house, but from another apartment. For it is against the national usage for

young princes to appear much in public, on the grounds that they are more respected at a distance, which I agree is true in cases where the people revere their sovereign through dread, and not out of love. Seclusion like this may indeed render the sovereign more to be dreaded, but certainly can never make him more lovable.

IX

DIPLOMATIC INCIDENTS

1st March, 1699.—The Brandenburg Envoy was conducted in state to an audience of leave-taking. He rode with a Pristaw, in a carriage of the Czar's, drawn by six white horses. The officials were on horseback. Twelve grooms from the Czar's stables swelled the number of the attendants, and the audience took place in the Lefort Palace, often beforementioned. At the same time Mr. de Zadora Kesielski, hitherto Marshal of the mission, was accredited and accepted as Resident, being substituted instead of the Envoy, and the Czar commanded him to stay for dinner, which was splendid, and at which the envoys of foreign princes and the principal Boyars were also present. After dinner was over, Dumnoi Moseiwicz, who was mimic Patriarch when the Czar wished, began giving toasts. He that drank had on bended knee for mockery to revere the sham ecclesiastical dignitary, and beg the favor of his benediction, which he gave with two tobacco pipes, set in the shape of a cross. He alone, of all the Envoys,¹ withdrew furtively who held the sacred

¹ *I. e.* the Austrian Ambassador.

sign of our Christian faith too holy to approve of such jests. The same Prelate added to the decency of the dancing by opening it with pontificals and crozier. The inner apartment, next to the room in which the festivities were going on, was again occupied by the Czarewicz and the Czar's sister Nathalia; thence they saw the dancing and all the gay tumult, the curtains with which the place was most handsomely decorated being drawn a little and they were only seen through a lattice by the guests. The natural beauty of the Czarewicz was wonderfully shown off by his civilized German dress and powdered wig. Nathalia was escorted by the *crème* of the married ladies. This day, too, beheld a great departure from Russian manners, which up to this forbade the female sex from appearing at public assemblies of men, and from festive gayeties, for some were not only allowed to be at the dinner, but also at the dancing afterwards.

2nd March, 1699.—The silence and modesty of this week is as remarkable as last week's tumult and fury, be it repentance for all the expense, or remorse for all the crime; unless perhaps it be that the festival holiness of the season may have violently reined in to such outward seeming of orderliness, men that were just now loose and audacious in every lust and every criminal license. Neither shops nor markets were open, the courts did not sit, the judges had nothing to do; it is neither allowed to eat fish nor

linseed oil; with most strict fast they mortify the flesh on dry bread and fruits of the earth — such an unexpected metamorphosis, *certainly*, that one hardly can believe one's eyes.

11th March, 1699.— They began to bury the corpses of the dead criminals. Horrible spectacle, and unknown, and I may say an abomination to more civilized nations. Several corpses lay huddled together in the carts, many half naked, and all higgledy-piggledy. Like slaughtered sheep to the market, they were brought to the sepulchral pits.

General Lefort having quite lost the use of his senses, raved and shouted, now for music, now for wine. When mention was made of calling for the pastor, growing hotter in his madness, he allowed nobody to come near him.

12th March, 1699.— General and Admiral Lefort died at three o'clock in the morning. After his death many and incongruous rumors were spread about. It is doubtful whether any of them be true. When Stumpf, the Protestant pastor, was admitted to see him, and was admonishing him to be converted to God, they say he only told him, "Not to talk much." To his wife, who in his last moments asked his pardon for her past faults, if she had committed any, he blandly replied: "I never had anything to reproach thee with; I always honored and loved thee"; and without saying more, he shook his head several times, by which they believe he meant to allude to a certain

other connection. He commended, in the first place, his domestics and their services, desiring that their wages should be paid in full. Some days before his death, when he was sleeping at another person's house, where he had an amor, a frightful row was heard at his own house in his usual bedroom. The wife was horror-stricken, and supposing her husband might have changed his mind and come home in a great fury, she sent to ascertain what was the case: and the persons sent came back again, asseverating that they could see nobody in that room. Nevertheless the uproar went on, and if the wife's assertion may be credited, next morning all the chairs, tables, and seats were found, horrible to behold, lying scattered topsy-turvey, all about; besides which, deep groans were constantly heard all through the night. A messenger was immediately dispatched to Veroneje, to acquaint the Czar that General Lefort had departed this life. In the interim, Boyar Golowin had everything sealed up, and had given the keys to the kinsman of the deceased.

14 March, 1699.—A very rich shop, belonging to a certain merchant, was confiscated, for punishment of I know not what crime. The merchant immediately set eagerly to work to purchase the patronage of the notorious Alexander² with a bribe of thousand roubles. The latter, greedy of such a sum, labored in his turn to gain over him who then

² See *Appendix*.

presided over the Treasury. But when he found that the Treasurer was more faithful than himself, and adverse to his proposal, inasmuch as he deemed it wrong to commit a fraud upon the Sovereign's public Treasury to enrich a private individual, the favorite had the audacity even to threaten him that if he made any further opposition he would not want for an occasion to revenge his contempt and neglect.

General Lefort (as they have asseverated) left nothing to excite the envy of his people against himself or his heirs. Nay, his kinsman prostrate upon the ground before Prince Galizin, protested that he had not the means of buying the usual mourning suit for himself.

21st March, 1699.—As all the representatives were invited to the funeral of the late General Lefort, they all appeared in mourning. Eight in the morning was the hour appointed for carrying out the body. But before everybody had arrived and everything was ready, the sun that looked down on the sad scene had risen nearly to the meridian. Meantime, after the manner of the Slowoda folk, the tables were laid out, groaning under viands, and drinking cups in long array, and bowls mantling with every description of wine. Mulled wine was served to those who preferred it. The Russians—for everybody of any rank or office had by the Czar's orders to be present—sat at table, ravenously devouring the viands, which were all cold. There was a great

variety of fish, cheese, butter, caviare, and so forth.

Prince Szeremetow, refined by much travel, and dressed in the German fashion, wearing his Cross of Malta pendant at his breast, thought it beneath his propriety to give himself up to voracity along with the rest. The Czar coming in, showed many tokens of grief: fixed sorrow was in his face. To the representatives who paid their becoming court, bowing to the ground according to custom, the monarch replied with exquisite politeness. When Leo Kirilowicz left his seat, and hastened to meet the Czar, he received indeed his salutation graciously, but remained absent without answering for a little while, until recollecting himself he bent to embrace him. When the moment for removing the body came, the grief and former affection of the Czar and some others was manifest to everybody, for the Czar shed tears most abundantly, and in the sight of all the vast crowd of people who were assembled on account of the solemn ceremony, he gave the last kiss to the corpse.

Thus the body was conducted to the Reformed Church, where Pastor Stumpf preached a short sermon. On leaving the temple the Boyars and the rest of their countrymen disturbed the order of the procession, forcing their way with inept arrogance up to the very body. The Envoys pretending, however, to take no notice of the haughty pretensions that led to this violent act, suffered every one of the Muscovites to go on before them, even those whose

humble lot and condition placed them out of the contest which the others perhaps had plotted for precedence. And the Envoys went on to where the nearest relation of the deceased had taken his place, as in funerals it is always reckoned the chief honor to walk beside him. As they came to the cemetery where the deceased was to be buried, the Czar noticed that the order was changed; that his subjects, who previously had followed the Envoys, now preceded them; therefore he called young Lefort to him and inquired: "Who disturbed the order: why those followed that just now went foremost?" And as he remained prostrate without giving any answer about the cause, the Czar commanded him to speak out what was the case: and when he said that it was the Russians that had violently inverted the order, the Czar greatly in wrath, nevertheless said nothing except: "They are dogs, not my Boyars."

Szeremetow, on the contrary — and to his prudence it may be attributed — still continued to accompany the Envoys, although all the Russian's had gone on before. In the cemetery itself and on the highway there were cannon drawn up, which shook the air with a triple discharge, and each regiment also delivered a triple volley of musketry. One of the artillery-men, remaining stupidly before the cannon's mouth, had his head carried off by the shot. The Czar went back with the troops to the house of Lefort, whither all who had accompanied the funeral

followed him. Everybody that had attended in mourning was presented with a gold ring, on which was engraved the date of the death, and a death's head. The Czar, having gone out for a moment, all the Boyars were hastening with anxious speed to go home. They had already gone down some steps, when meeting the Czar returning face to face, they came back into the room. This haste of the Boyars to get away gave rise to a suspicion that they were glad of the death, and it put the Czar in such a passion that he wrathfully addressed them in the following terms:—"Ho! you are made merry at his death! It is a grand victory for you that he is dead. Why can't you all wait? I suppose, because the greatness of your joy will not allow you to keep up this forced appearance, and the feigned sorrow of your faces."

23rd March, 1699.—As the Czar was deliberating to whom he should confide the Prefecture, one of the Boyars said to him that it was an office which might be imposed upon Boris Petrowicz Szeremetow. Upon which the Czar gave him a cuff, as if he were an evil adviser; and roared passionately at him: "So, you too are hankering after his friendship."

In the afternoon to-day, the Czar rode in a carriage through Slowoda, bade adieu to all whom he condescended to grace with his favor, and in the evening left Moscow for Veroneje.

It is the talk of the town, that about twelve Rus-

sians went in the stillness of the night to the cemetery where they knew General Lefort was buried, and, in the hope of a rich booty, would have violated the grave, had not the neighbors awoke with the noise they made talking, and hurrying to see this unparalleled crime, deterred the wicked wretches from their nefarious purpose.

27th March, 1699.—A principal race among the Tartars is that of the Calmucks, who are not tributary to the Czar, but nevertheless acknowledge his suzerainty, and yield services more in the way of allies than as subjects,—services which are purchased with annual presents. An Envoy from them came to-day, with a train of only six persons. Under the name of an Ambassador, he drove a more profitable trade. Tea leaf, starry anise, Chinese tobacco, fine tissues and several other things in which China is known to abound, were his most precious merchandise. There were still some empty rooms remaining, that are built over the stables of Ambassadorial Palace, two of which were appointed for his lodging. Although the barbarian knew little or nothing of those manners and honorable customs, by the grandeur and stately ceremonial of which it is the privilege of Ambassadors to captivate the reverence of foreign nations; nevertheless, before he would go into those rooms, he inquired whether other Envoys had lodged there before. He deserves credit, at least for having tried to guard against anything

prejudicial. The Muscovites had little difficulty in imposing upon him; asserting that the Ambassadors of the greatest princes of Europe had lodged in those strait limits. He ate mostly mare's flesh, and was allowed, at the outside, thirty kopeks³ a day for the usual free maintenance. But, humbugged by the persuasions of the Muscovites, he thought himself most splendidly treated.

29th March, 1699.—Seventy Italians, whom the Muscovites had brought from Venice, were discharged without payment of their expenses. Notwithstanding the many inconveniences through which they had to retrace their long journey, none got more than ten roubles, others nine, and others only eight. Exasperated at this injustice, they took the liberty of saying direful things of the whole Muscovite race.

31st March, 1699.—All the Boyars, by little and little, are going off to Veroneje. Tzarkaski, a prince of advanced years, remains as Prefect of the City, an office which was entrusted to him, though there were others who would fain have arrogated that dignity to themselves, under pretext that the Czar had conferred it upon them. For the Czar, when bidding farewell at his departure, recommended the affairs of Moscow to several and spoke to different persons in this manner: "Meantime I commit all my affairs to your loyalty." I opine it was a

³ About fifteen cents. The buying power of money was greater at that time, of course.

maxim with the Czar,— and a maxim not to be condemned,— to raise up many to great hope, in order that the possession may be envied to any one, and that by their constant dissensions they may be left without means of abusing absolute power, or of giving grounds for regret at such authority being intrusted, by seizing on it to act against their Sovereign.

1st April, 1699.— Some hordes of Crim-Tartars penetrated in a headlong swoop to the very camp at Azow. None dared resist the unexpected peril; fear filled the country far and wide around, and this very panic terror gave increased force and daring to the enemy. The farms depopulated, the fields desolate, the hamlets in ashes, the colonies widowed of their inhabitants, are standing monuments of irreparable damage, and vestiges of the unheard-of cruelty that was exercised. The plundering hurricane swept along with it numbers of officers, still more common soldiers, and an almost incredible multitude of serfs, into the harshest slavery.

2nd, 3rd April, 1699.— The Greek and Russian Church venerates the images of Saints with no less devotion than the Church of Rome, and justly places much hope and confidence in their suffrages; not giving them that supreme worship of *latria*, which belongs to the Majesty of the Almighty Creator of all that exists, but that far different worship which we are to pay to them as friends of God, and inter-

cessors for us. So that that signal honor which the Russians unanimously pay to Saints and their images is not to be censured. It is a more knotty question whether particular practices which they use in honor of divers Saints be not superstitious; as, for example, when the sick, the helpless, and those which are beyond the aid of human skill, fly for refuge to images, which are placed upon their heads with sacerdotal rites. But when one examines more closely into the reason why the cloak that Elias left after him wrought miracles, it will at once appear that the finger of God's right hand, to whom as the ultimate source all our piety, all worship, and veneration tend, works wonderful things in his works in a wonderful manner. Whence I hold it not to be omitted that General-in-Chief Schachin was present to-day at a solemn procession in which an image was carried to the house of a sick person, to the very great edification of many people.

5th April, 1699.—The Lord Envoy, conducted by a certain German Colonel, went over the Czar's castle of the Kremlin. In the hall where audience is usually given to ambassadors, a throne of silver gilt, embellished with a number of precious stones, stands conspicuous, worthy of Sovereign Majesty. We did not see the rest of the regalia; for, as the Czar has hitherto refused to dwell in this castle, they are kept locked up in chests. On the side of the castle from which a charming view opens on the

river Neglina, above the second story, there is a fair precinct of garden, supported upon masonry: it is quite melancholy to see how it lies neglected, going to ruin on account of human sloth. We were also gratified with a sight of the room from which Princess Sophia, in the time of the Muscovite triumvirate, under the usurping sway of the prime minister, Basil Galizin, could observe through a lattice all the proposals of the envoys and the answers of the ministers. Next this, is a magnificently adorned apartment, set apart for the conferences of ambassadors. There are also two exceedingly neat chapels, one for summer and the other for winter. In the summer chapel they venerate a miraculous image of the Mother of God, which was brought from Smolensko. In the Church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, all the Czars are buried and entombed. They keep the pictures of those whose sanctity of life procured them the honor of miracles. That cause was alleged on an inquiry why Ivan Basilowicz, the great tyrant of Muscovy, was the only one of whom there was no portrait. Besides a decollation of Saint John, they show another picture of the Mother of God, which cost 17,000 roubles. The grandfather, father, and elder brother of the now reigning Czar are laid together in front of the same altar, enclosed in stone sarcophagi. This church has nine towers, all gilt, from the summits of which as many crosses glitter with the same

metal on high; that upon the highest tower is said to be cast entirely of pure gold. In a church close by, called Sabora, all the Patriarchs and Metropolitans that are reckoned among the Saints are buried. Among the rest, they revere one named Iona. In the same church there is a particle of our Savior's garment preserved; and we kissed a still entire arm of St. Andrew. The Czar's seat in that Church is marvelously wrought and exceedingly ancient. It belonged to the Princes of Kiow,⁴ and was thence brought hither. Near it rises the throne of the Patriarch, marvelously adorned with numberless paintings. The sedilia for the princess, in another part of the church, are covered with very rich tapestries and red silk.

6th April, 1699.—Oats and provisions were very dear now in Moscow, and they alleged that it arose from the circumstance that when the corpses of those that were lately executed were to be carted to the pits which were dug for them outside the city, the ferocious soldiers, by the Czar's command, had compelled the Sbosecks, that is the serfs, to throw down the burdens off their carts and load them with dead bodies, or to leave them and go dig pits, whilst the soldiers with a high hand kept for themselves the wheat, hay, oats, and whatever else the serfs were carting in, not only with impunity, but as a matter of right. Deterred by this loss, the peasants

⁴ Kiev on the Dnieper.

brought nothing more into town, fearing lest what they meant for market should fall a prey and booty to the licentious rapacity of the soldiers.

8th, 9th April, 1699.—A great fire broke out about nine o'clock in the morning not far from the Palace of the Ambassadors, behind the palace of General-in-Chief Schachin. Boyar Soltikow and Knes Michalowicz Tzerkasky met with great loss; their own palaces and several wooden houses round about being reduced to ashes in the space of four hours. There was no water poured on to extinguish the flames, the only security was in demolishing some houses. Pieces of sheet lead were to be seen in numbers with the distinguishing marks of the regiments: but there were few men to give a helping hand; and those that were trying to destroy the roofs were so scorched by the sudden approaches of the flames when they least expected it, as to put a stop to further efforts. They carried out a miraculous image of the Mother of God in order that superior powers might stay the flames. The same day a house in the German Slowoda was destroyed by fire.

23rd April, 1699.—The Lord Envoy and one of his friends visited Colonel Gordon, who was on guard in the Kremlin Castle. There was one of the principal persons of the Muscovite nobility, named Almazow, under arrest in his quarters. Feodor Madveowicz Aprazen is married to his sister, and Aparazen's sister is the Dowager of the Czar who

died about seventeen years ago. This Almazow's household were taking too great freedom in sporting with Easter eggs, and perhaps were more than usually uproarious. They did not stop when they were forbidden by the watch, and maintained, that at the Easter season custom warranted them. However, the night watch was not of the same opinion, and gave them warning to be off, unless they preferred being cudgelled away. The others, exasperated, began brawling, and at length words came to blows. Help was sent to the watch, but being insufficient, was driven away by the infuriated domestics. The matter being reported to Prince Michael Lehugowicz Tzerkaski, orders were sent to the Chancellor to see that Almazow's guilty servants be taken into custody, and to send a scribe to his house with a force of fifteen soldiers. The scribe either by a mistake of his own, or by a spiteful order of the Chancellor, seized not the servants, but their master, who was ignorant of the whole affair, and would have dragged him off to a most villainous dungeon, if Colonel Gordon, who had got notice from the Dowager Czarine, Almazow's kinswoman, had not wrested him from the reluctant hands of the soldiers and scribe, and assigned him his own quarters as his place of arrest. Certainly soldiers in Muscovy are in the habit of tormenting prisoners in every way at their fancy, without respect of persons or the matter of which they are accused, bruising them with their muskets,

with sticks, and thrusting them into the most beastly holes — especially the opulent, to whom they unblushingly say, that they will not cease from beating them until they have paid a certain sum. Let a prisoner go willingly or unwillingly to jail, he is beaten all the same. Almazow, a strikingly fine young fellow, being liberated from arrest while I was looking on, went to return thanks to the Czarine.

3rd May, 1699.— The Czar claims the monopoly of the sale of brandy. Some of the lower orders — those called Jemskoi — were offering it for sale in the private houses, contrary to the express inhibition of the Czar. So the Treasurer, Peter Ivanowicz Prosorowski, wanting to chastise them, had fifty soldiers at his orders that he had asked of General Gordon. Along with these he sent a scribe, armed with a warrant to seize as contraband and bring to the Czar's stores all the brandy they could find in such places. But when they attempted to put the warrant in execution, a mob of Jemskoi assembled; and, repelling force by force, killed three soldiers by running them through, and wounded several. The Jemskoi, moreover, threatened fiercer vengeance if such another seizure should be attempted. The daring of this conduct is such, that it keeps the authorities of the city in great anxiety whether it is better to employ force or dissemble.

5th May, 1699.— When one of the footmen belonging to the Danish Envoy was going to Sboseck,

a Russian shouted an approbrious name at him. The footman at once sprang from his horse to strike the fellow for the insult: for the word was a contumelious one that they address to the Germans. But the Russian ran away, and called up the Guard, saying that the German was on the point of murdering him, and that he was a robber. The soldiers roused by this story ran up, arrested the footman, and brought him as a robber to the Pricassa; where, his innocence being manifest, he was, on payment of one griffna, allowed to return home.

Everything is in confusion in Muscovy. The Czar, at leaving, commended the safe keeping and prefecture of the city to Knes Tzerkaski. To Gordon he said: "To thee, meanwhile, I commit everything: everything is entrusted to your hands and your loyalty." But some scribe arrogates to himself the supreme military direction which belonged to Knes Romadnowski, pretending that it devolved upon him at the departure of the latter, and consequently that cognizance of everything is of his competency.

15th June 1699.—When the Czar was leaving Veroneje for Azow, and was already on board, that Alexander,⁵ who is so conspicuous at court through the Czar's graces, was whispering something in his ear, which put the Czar in a sudden passion, and he inflicted some boxes on his importunate monitor, so

⁵ See *Appendix*.

that he lay stretched at full length, quite like a dying man at the feet of irate Majesty.

The mutiny of the garrison of Azow gained strength with its duration. The mutineers demand an oath from him whom they should revere as the arbiter of life and death. But what have treasonable subjects, after trampling on the authority of their prince, ever left whole untouched, and undared? It is a solace to those whose unholy disobedience has thus lost them, to leave nothing untried, that daring can suggest, which may avail them to conjure the ruin which they have called down upon themselves. Although the Czar saw, with a great sense of grief, his dignity compromised by treason, nevertheless, he did not reject the condition put to him, nor the oath which was exacted at its guarantee; lest, by obstinately upholding His Majesty, he should open the way to peril of worse evils. He descended to make a pact with his subjects, and, repeating the words after them, bound himself by his royal truth and dignity that all the Strelitz in the city of Azow should go unpunished. It remains to be seen whether he will adhere to this pledge given under compulsion. For what is extorted wrongfully from princes they often requite by another wrong, nor do they consider themselves in justice bound to their own injury.

19th May, 1699.—They celebrated to-day with the greatest pomp, the festival of Saint-Nicholas,

patron of Muscovy, which is the grand *Prasdnick*⁶ of the Russians. It is quite shameful — they think it, in fact, unworthy of them, not to reel with wine or brandy on this day, for the greater the solemnity of the festival the more correct they consider it to give themselves up to drunkenness and other gratifications.

This night, as the Envoy of Denmark came back from Veroneje, when he arrived at the gate, a dispute arose about money which the soldiers insisted upon — what is called *das Sperr-Geld*⁷ — for he refused to pay for the soldiers that the Czar had given him as an escort.

20th May, 1699.—The Envoy of Denmark told among other stories the following. That two German colonels who were accused by a Muscovite of treason, imprisoned and subjected to the worst tortures of the rack, could not be made to confess the crime which the informer had laid to their charge. Meanwhile the Russian had repented of his false accusation, and with the same effrontery as he before had accused these innocent men, he made known to the Czar that the Germans had been wrongfully tortured, and that it was only his envy that made him accuse innocent men of such a heinous offense. This atrocious man's malice put the Czar in such a heat

⁶ Holiday.

⁷ Gate-money.

of indignation that he struck off his fateful head, as he richly deserved.

The soldiers of the regiment of Bebraschentsko are divided among the ships. They say that the vessel to which none but the Czar and his principal Boyars put a hand, is unique, and the handsomest of his Majesty's fleet.

24th May, 1699.—The Brandenburg resident, Timothy de Zadora Kesielski, had gone for the purpose of speaking to Boyar Leo Kirilowicz Nareskin. After a whole hour's patience, the Boyar at last came into the antechamber, where he knew he was waited for. When he looked at the Resident, as if he wondered at his being there, he rudely questioned him with this haughty address: "What dost thou want?" To which the Resident answered: "Thou knowest that I have not come to beg a crust of bread from thee: if thou dost not consider the attention of my visit an honor to thee, I shall dispense myself in future of that trouble."

The unexpected tartness of the answer struck the Boyar so home, that in a harsh and contemptuous tone he was beginning to taunt the Resident, saying: "What durst thou say to me, thou petty little Chamberlain?" Upon which the Resident, with no less warmth instantly retorted: "I hold myself highly honored in being a Chamberlain of my most Serene Prince. If the rank I hold be beneath thy ambition,

he that sent me could confer a higher upon me, but it would be difficult for him to confer any which the impotency of your stilted mind would not despise as far beneath you."

6th June, 1699.—To-day being the feast of Pentecost, branches and foliage of trees were blessed by the Russian priests; and this is the only day on which they pray for God's aid kneeling; on every other festival they say their usual prayers standing erect. They account for it by saying that the Apostles and all the disciples of our Redeemer prostrated themselves upon the earth at the time of the coming of the Holy Ghost — and thence they took a handle to bless all the fruits of the earth.

8th, 9th June, 1669.—The Lord Envoy Extraordinary drove out to the Monastery dedicated to the Most Holy Resurrection, distant six German miles from Moscow. The Bazilian monks took the most laudable pains to receive the Lord Envoy honorably. They served up with most lavish politeness a vast quantity of fresh fish out of their own fishponds, beer, brandy, and dishes dressed in the Russian fashion. The Czar's ministers had recommended the monks to show all this civility of polite preparation.

10th June, 1699.—We were led by a monk through the monastery, which is enclosed with huge walls. The refectories for the whole community were shown to us, as were the cells of the monks; the latter are separated by a very thin partition. The

Church is a large and very noble pile, sumptuously built by the Patriarch Nichon, and, carried out exactly on the model of that on Mount Calvary in Jerusalem, represents every circumstance of Christ's passion, in different chapels. While we were examining the church at our leisure, Wignius arrived with the Brandenburg Resident, in company with whom we had our dinner here; at which a Russified Pole, who spoke good Latin, and two other monks high in office, were present; after which we set off to an estate of his (Wignius's), that lay some miles further on. His house, constructed of brick, is built with various conveniences. The stream that glides past it, and the wide open fields around it, afforded a charming view. We first amused ourselves delightfully boating, and enticing the unwary fish into the cunning net, a diversion all the more pleasant, when we knew we should have them for supper, for which it was delightful to catch them. Our host omitted none of those attentions that might denote sincere affection and truth.

11th June, 1699.— After fowling and dinner duly performed, and friendly greetings had been mutually exchanged, the Brandenburg Resident desired to return to Moscow, along with the Imperial Lord Envoy. At a village called Angeliko, on an estate belonging to the monastery, we passed that night.

12th June, 1699.— After accomplishing four miles, we reached Moscow, and the Ambassadorial

Palace, at about ten in the day. In a grove, an hour distant from the city — where the Germans are in the habit of going to amuse themselves — there grew so hot a quarrel between Captains Erchel and Printz, that swords were drawn, and wounds given on both sides.

21st June, 1699.— No timè was allowed to the Venetian shipwrights to purify their consciences by sacramental confession, they are kept working as hard as they can by the Czar, toiling without rest at shipbuilding.

5th, 6th July, 1699.— A Russian merchant claimed a debt of four roubles from a certain German for goods bought. When the German denied that he owed so much, the Russian with much vociferation, several times most atrociously calling on all the powers celestial and infernal to witness, endeavored to prove his claim. So the German appointed the Russian arbiter on his proffered oath; who thereupon entering the nearest church, falsely made the requisite oath. In a short time after he himself confessed that the German did not owe him four roubles, but only two; that the other two were due to him by another, also a German, and that he could claim them in turn. This is respect for an oath! this is piety towards God! the taking of whose name in vain is no scruple of conscience to this people.

9th July, 1699.— The Muscovites perform the

annual festival of the Holy Apostles, Peter and Paul, and of the Czar, who was named Peter in baptism.

The Czar's castle at Ismailow, laid out most agreeably for a summer residence, is surrounded by a grove of trees, not thickly planted, but growing to a prodigious height, and affording an admirable refuge beneath the cool shade of their lofty and spreading branches from the burning heat of summer. It pleased the Lord Envoy to go and see the delightful neighborhood of this wood, to contemplate and enjoy the famous charms of the place. Musicians followed to aid the gentle whisperings of the woods and winds with sweeter harmonies.

The Czarine, the Czarewicz, and the unmarried princesses, enticed by the gentle season of the year, were then staying at that castle, and they were fond of rambling through the dense thickets to the pleasant glades of the forest, and killing time in the sweet disports and forgetfulness of busy repose. It so happened that they were thus engaged at the moment when the sweet symphony of clarions and reed instruments gushed in gentlest measure upon their ears, and made them cease awhile from their occupation. The musicians grew ambitious upon finding themselves observed and were giving satisfaction to the observers, and with most graceful emulation they strove one with another who should bear off the palm in witching with his sweet skill, these ears

Most Serene to longest forgetfulness. They remained a quarter of an hour, and praised exceedingly the skill of all the musicians.

10th July, 1699.—A Lithuanian Catholic boy, seduced by the Muscovites, fled from our kitchen to a certain Russian prince, to embrace the Russian religion, in the hope of getting a wife, as they had promised him upon that condition. Knes Repnin,⁷ Colonel of the Dragoons, and his servants, stung by some gad-fly to frenzy, broke violently in upon the city guard, and as he was on the point of snatching away the colors, the ensign received him upon his pike in the most creditable manner. Several others were wounded in the strife on both sides.

14th July, 1699.—Came Diak Jacob Nikonow, having heard of the complaints of some of our people, who had been uncivilly affronted lately by the watch, and after previously examining the accused dragoons, condemned them all eight, notwithstanding the splendor of their birth — for they were noble — to the penalty of the *battok*. By order of the Czar the sentence was executed in the Court of the Ambassadorial Palace, the number of blows with which they were to be chastised was left to the arbitrament of those to whom their evil stars had led them to give very ill-treatment.

⁷ Prince Anikita Repnin, who was a constant friend of Peter the Great. He rose to be a field marshal. The family is extinct in the male line.

A Czar's banquet, not inferior in opulence and splendor to that given to us before, was carried to the Lord Envoy with the useful solemn state and procession of two hundred men. After a sip of brandy, which was brought round in a cup made of a precious stone, the first toast was to the health of the Most August Emperor; the second, that of the Most Serene Czar; the third, of the Most Serene King of the Romans; the fourth, the Czarewicz; the fifth, the Lord Envoy. The mutual wordy compliments of the *Pristaw* and of the Lord Envoy, consisted in protestations of sincere friendship.

15th, July, 1699.—Those who had any part of care or trouble in yesterday's Imperial banquet, conference and solemn dismissal, stood awaiting with most greedy hopes, the largess of the Lord Envoy, and received gifts in proportion to their several functions.

16th July, 1699.—The Russians celebrated the festival of the Blessed Virgin of Casan. The Muscovites believe that the image which they venerate under that name had always been suspended in the clouds, and was seen by the entire Russian army that beleaguered Casan, during the whole time of the siege; but that after the city was stormed, the image fell from the sky to the ground, and was with the utmost reverence lifted up by the Russians, and has ever since been held in worship.

About evening came the head scribe of the Am-

bassadorial Chancery, attended by many others from the same office, and distributed the Czar's presents, consisting of sable furs, to the Lord Envoy and the whole of his suite.

19th, 20th July, 1699.—Yesterday and to-day leave-taking began; farewell being bidden to all that were familiar and intimate friends. Full-size portraits of their Imperial Majesties, the Emperor and Empress, of the Most Serene King of the Romans, and of the Most Serene Archduke Charles, were sent as a present to the Prime Minister, Leo Kirilowicz Nareskin.

21st, 22nd July, 1699.—Having performed the last civility of farewell visits in the German Slowoda, we all prepared for to-morrow's departure. The Lord Envoy has been several times invited by the Prime Minister to a seat of his called *Filli*, some *versts* distant from Moscow.

At four miles distant from Moscow the Grand Swedish Embassy lay, awaiting the order for entering the city. For their suitable lodging there was assigned a house formerly inhabited by popes, and commonly called *das Pfaffenhaus*.

X

RETURN OF THE IMPERIAL LEGATION FROM MUSCOVY TO VIENNA

23rd July, 1699.—Although no such practice or custom be in force in any European Court, as accompanying the departure of the Ministers of foreign Princes with a public solemnity and extraordinary exhibition of pomp; so that for ages it had come to be considered a useless expense of public honors to wait on their departure with state or splendor; nevertheless the Court of Russia departed in our time by a contrary usage from this general sentiment, honoring Mr. de Printz, Envoy Extraordinary of the Elector of Brandenburg (as an especial friendly distinction, in order to exhibit more abundantly the fraternal bonds lately confirmed between the two princes), with the same state ceremonial at his departure as that with which they received him on his arrival, and had thought fit to accompany his entry into their walls. The like was intimated to the Lord Envoy also, after the ceremonial of giving him his re-credentials. He indeed set himself against this novel and unusual method of demonstrative friendship; but it was labor in vain.

After his multifarious objections, the commands of His Majesty the Czar were brought back, directing that the Lord Envoy should be dismissed with such honors as had never fallen to the lot of any minister before him.

So after duly providing by solemn protest, that the Muscovites should not pretend to make these unusual ceremonies a precedent at the Emperor's Court, he left it to their own free will to distinguish his departure with whatever honors they might choose.

Now, it was in no particular different from the handsome ceremonial which they had appointed for our entry. There were squadrons of the new cavalry; detachments of the light troops, a most gorgeous coach of the Czar's, and horses glittering with new trappings of gold and silver and gems, awaited the Lord Envoy's officials. Along with the Lord Envoy, there sat in the coach a *pristaw* in ordinary, as well as the interpreter, and they were to conduct him as far as the place where fifteen months ago the ceremonial of reception had been solemnly gone through.

Through the leading streets of the city, everywhere beset by a countless throng of men, we reached the banks of the river of Moscow. The crossing was not quite exempt from danger, for the bridge was only in the middle of the stream, and did not reach the bank at either side; so that the ascent and the

descent were of no little difficulty. But the dangers of such ill-made bridges seems little or nothing to the Muscovites, though they swallow up no few people that are deceived by the unexpected declivity. Jemska Slowoda (the coachmen's suburb) occupies the further bank. The pristaff's attendance was limited to the bounds of this suburb. Here the coach stopped, the pristaw bade farewell, and capped the adopted ceremonial with the last compliments. The noble estate of the Prime Minister and Boyar, Lord Leo Kirilowicz Nareskin, called Filli, is only seven versts distant from Moscow. He had some days previously invited the Lord Envoy, at his departure, to a dinner, which he got up there in most splendid style. Scarcely was the ceremonial at an end, when one of the officials of that Boyar, who was sent by his master to show the way to the estate, presented himself, politely begging that the Lord Envoy would deign to follow him. Thus with the whole train and baggage, which was carried by ninety *potwoda*, he left the high road escorted by the representatives of foreign ministers and several officers of the Czar's army. So great were the compliments of the guests upon entering the place, which was for the most part thronged with the principal Germans, that you might have thought they were contending for a prize. There was a great and general studiousness of friendship; sovereign was the emulation of many to express with greater force the integrity of their

feelings, till at length the summons to the costly banquet that was served brought back the guests to themselves. Except the Prime Minister and his kinsman, and our usual interpreter, Mr. Schwerenberg, no Russian guest was there. The Germans, in numbers were invited instead of them.

The banquet was not inferior to Royal sumptuousness, nor was it cooked in the Russian fashion, but well dressed to the German taste. The rare profusion of viands, the costliness of the gold and silver plate, the variety and exquisiteness of the beverages, bespoke plainly the near blood-relation of the Czar.¹ After dinner there was an archery match: nobody was excused because of the exercise being strange to him, or for his want of skill in a matter to which he was unaccustomed. A sheet of paper stuck in the ground was the butt. The Prime Minister perforated it several times, amidst general applause. As the rain drove us from this most pleasant exercise, we retired again to the apartments of the Boyar. Nareskin, taking the Lord Envoy by the hand, led him to his wife's chambers to salute and be saluted. There is no higher mark of honor among the Russians. He is honored in the highest degree whom the husband invites to embrace his wife, and to receive the extreme compliment of a sip of brandy from her hand. Nor should I pass

¹ Nareskin's sister was the Czarina, mother of Peter I. See *Appendix*.

unmentioned the liberality which the Boyar exhibited in his gift of a costly pelisse of sables to the Lord Envoy. Yet this munificence was not altogether devoid of some thought of his own advantage. For the Boyar laboredly sought an occasion of moving discourse, and calling to remembrance the honors of the day, when the Most August Emperor's clemency distinguished Basil Kirilowicz Galizin, who held the first place of authority in Muscovy fourteen years ago, sending him a coach by Mr. Kurz. Eager, no doubt, that the Emperor should exhibit equal condescension to him who ambitiously occupies the same place and office at present. Whither tended the atrocious threats against Diak Basil Bosnikow, that there was no scarcity of cudgels to chastise his impertinence towards him? Certainly this was meant to mollify the Lord Envoy, who was querulous about this Diak's rude manners, and to make fair sail for the object of his ambition by the Lord Envoy's favorable report. But he lost his toil and his labor, when, after General Gordon having already occupied the seat of honor, he invited the Imperial Envoy to get into his coach, that he might conduct him to another estate of his two versts further on. Yet the man was rather to be pardoned for his simplicity than reprehended for craftiness; and so he was horror-stricken when the Lord Envoy said: "You postpone the Imperial Envoy to General Gordon!" While he was seeking to remedy this, the Imperial

Envoy got into his own carriage, and so drove off with the rest to that estate. Receiving his guests there with much politeness, the proprietor pointed out his conveniences for the chase on an adjacent hill that was studded with little thickets, and sloped with a gentle declivity into a valley; and he sought to win back the offended spirit of the Lord Envoy by the offer of two sporting dogs, which he warranted capital. After tarrying for a brief space here, thanks were given and farewell bidden not only to the Boyar, but to all the guests present. Colonel Gordon's main task was to excuse his father of the offense received in his person from the Boyar. Colonel de Grage and the Czar's doctor, Carbonari, followed our tents three versts further.

Beneath the open sky, under canvas, we passed the night. But as a scarcity of water was apparent, the Lord Envoy not unjustly inveighed against the Czar's *pristaw*, for it was incumbent on him to have provided against such circumstances. Although there was no inn near, still we were not afflicted with any scarcity of eatables or drinkables.

24th July, 1699.—After solemn leave-taking on both sides, those returned to Moscow, who as I have already said, accompanied us to the field and to our tents; and we too speedily started on an opposite route.

APPENDIX

The notes in this appendix are arranged alphabetically. They contain additional information about certain persons and other matters in the text, and they are intended to assist the reader in understanding various remarks and allusions of the Diary.

The method of transliteration of Russian names adopted by Count Macdonnell has — with a very few exceptions — been observed in reprinting the excerpts from the Diary. Other methods of spelling these names have been added in parenthesis in order that readers desirous for further information should have no difficulty in finding the names in works of reference.

Minor errors which are of importance to the historian only and about which the author himself admitted his doubts have not been commented on, as for instance the rumor, which was erroneous, that Shukova, a confidential chamberwoman of Czarina Martha, had been buried alive as a punishment for being implicated in the revolt of the Strelitz. In the same way the correspondence with the Strelitz ascribed by the author of the Diary to Sophia was as a matter of fact written by the Czarina Martha.

Regarding the completeness of Count Macdonnell's translation (see Introduction p. xxiii) the rather prudish count omitted page 70 of the Latin original describing in a Chauceresque style the nightly bacchanalia of the Muscovite clerics with their wives. Other passages in

similar vein he was disinclined to render in English and left them in the original Latin. Some of these have been given in English in this edition.

APRAXIN (APRAKSIN), Martha.—She was of a Boyar family, the pedigree of which is traced to the fifteenth century, and was the second wife of Czar Theodore, the eldest half-brother of Czar Peter, who died in 1682, a few months after the marriage. Czarina Martha was but little more than fourteen years when married. She died in 1716. Her brother became an Admiral of the Russian fleet and a count.

DWARFS.—There was no lack of dwarfs at the Czar's court. They were introduced on all occasions, and even put into pies which the Czar cut open with great relish. At the funeral of one who had been long attached to the household of Peter, twenty-four male and as many female dwarfs walked in procession, followed by Peter in person as well as by his ministers and guards. In 1708 Prince Menshikow wrote to his wife: "I send you a present of two girls, one of whom is very small and can serve as a parrot. She is more talkative than is usual among such little people, and can make you much gayer than if she were a real parrot." In 1710, following the marriage of the Princess Anne to the Duke of Courland, a marriage of two dwarfs was celebrated with the same rites and pomp as had been observed at the marriage of the Duke and the Princess. On this occasion seventy-two dwarfs supped at a separate table in the hall of Prince Menshikow's palace. They were made as drunk as the rest of the company and their antics furnished great amusement. They were given the Czar's cabinet for a nuptial chamber. In 1716

Menshikow wrote: "Since one of my daughters possesses a dwarf girl and the other does not, therefore I beg you kindly to ask Her Majesty, the Czarina, to allow me to take one of the dwarfs which were left after the death of the Czarina Martha." No noble residence was considered well furnished without dwarfs and the birth of a dwarf was even considered a piece of good luck. There is a decree in the archives of the Senate granting freedom from serfdom to the father and family of a dwarf. When Peter as a child went to church, a double row of dwarfs, carrying red silken curtains, followed him, a moving prison, always with him.

GERMAN SLOWODA (also "Dutch Suburb" or "German Settlement").—Beyond the gates of the old capital, towards the north-western corner of the modern city of Moscow, there arose, on the borders of the Jaouza, (Iausa) a scanty affluent of the Moscva river,—a kind of Ghetto, specially assigned to the *Niemtsy*, i. e. those who did not speak the tongue of the country, and who in consequence, were *niemoi*, dumb. In the middle ages there were a few German merchants here from the Hansa cities. In the 17th century there were besides the Dutch and Germans many Englishmen and Scotchmen, exiles during Cromwell's rule. Later the Frenchmen came, when Louis XIV. drove the Protestants out of France. New political and Scientific ideas from Western Europe were here and the more enlightened of the Russian statesmen like Basil Galizin went there to dine and talk with the foreigners. Czar Peter too frequented the Dutch Suburb with his "jolly company," i. e. his friends, favorites and casual acquaintances.

GALIZIN (GOLITSUIN), Boris Alexiewicz.—Of a

princely family of Lithuanian descent, he was one of Peter's chief supporters when he broke with his half-sister Sophia in 1689. During the Czar's first foreign tour (1697-1698) he was one of three regents of Russia. He was highly educated, spoke Latin with fluency, frequented the society of scholars and had his children brought up according to the best European methods. But being a habitual drunkard and a parasite on the foreigners, he ruined his reputation in spite of the great services he had rendered.

GALIZIN (GOLITSUIN), Basil.—A cousin of Boris Galizin and chief counselor of Sophia. Although one of the few great Russian nobles who favored Western civilization and a friend of the foreigners in Moscow with whom he used to dine and converse, the Strelitz at their revolt offered him the throne in case Sophia refused to accept it because he had always been merciful to them. He died in exile in 1714.

GOLOVIN, Theodore Alexiewicz.—The first Russian statesman in the modern sense and one of Peter's best friends. In the grand embassy in 1697 Golovin occupied the second place immediately after Lefort, on whose death in March 1699 he succeeded him as Admiral-General. The conduct of foreign affairs was also entrusted to him and from 1699 until his death in 1706 he was considered as a kind of prime minister of the Czar.

GOLOVKIN, Gabriel Ivanowicz.—The son of a high official, he began his career as a page at the court of Czar Alexius, became, at the age of seventeen, one of Peter's gentlemen of the bedchamber, and subsequently was raised to the rank of *Oberkammerherr* and created

a count. During the latter part of his life he became as famous for his avarice as for his stinginess.

GORDON, Patrick.—A Scotch soldier of fortune and a Russian general who made his first appearance in public life as a witness to a deed by which his father added to the still growing burden of the family debts. He was then a boy of fifteen on the eve of setting out to seek his fortune as a foreign mercenary, according to the fashion of the time which taught the country gentleman, however needy, to look on trade with contempt. Patrick Ivanovitch, as he was called among the Muscovites, took part in the revolution of 1689 on the side of Peter against Sophia and became thereby one of the first favorites of the Czar, who closed his eyes when he died in 1699. Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries were printed for the Spalding Club in 1859.

LAPOUKINE (LOPUKHINA), Eudoxia.—Peter's first wife of boyar family which traces its origin back to the 15th century. During his western tour Peter suggested to her repeatedly to take the veil voluntarily which she refused to do. After his return he had her shut up in a convent where she was reduced to the condition of a simple nun. Eudoxia appeared again during Peter's proceedings against their son Alexis. She was arrested on account of her correspondence with her son and on the further allegation that she had relations with a Major Gliebof. It was also alleged that she had in no way conformed to the rules of the convent but had assumed there a secular habit and the state of a princess. Eudoxia was now sent to another convent near St. Petersburg where she lived until the accession of her

grandson, Peter II., when she was released. She appeared occasionally in court but the long seclusion had dulled her mind and she died in 1731.

Her alleged lover Glibof was executed less on account of his relations with her than for having sympathized with Alexis. After having been tortured by the knout, by red-hot irons, and by burning coal he was fastened for three days upon a plank with wooden spikes, and as he confessed nothing more, he was impaled. During his impalement which lasted over twenty-four hours till he died, Peter visited him in the endeavor to elicit a last confession. For an answer Glibof spit in his face. Eudoxia's brother, Abraham Lopukhin, met a similar though less cruel fate.

LEFORT, François.—An adventurer of Swiss-French extraction, who in 1675, when only nineteen, had entered Czar Theodore's service, and finally drifted to Moscow where he married a cousin of Patrick Gordon. After participating in various campaigns he settled down in the Dutch Suburb (German *Slowoda*) at Moscow where he met the young Czar. Peter chose him as one of his advisers and favorites, which position he held until his death. Things impossible to describe happened according to Kurakin, one of Peter's companions in the large hall added at Peter's expense to Lefort's house. There were drinking banquets lasting for three whole days during which not unfrequently some of the guests died. In Lefort's house Peter met also his first mistress, Anna Mons.

MENTSCHIKOW (MENSHIKOV), Alexander Danilowicz.—He is frequently mentioned as "Alexasca" in the Diary, and was literally plucked from the gutter by Gen-

eral Lefort who made him his valet. In Lefort's house Peter saw him and chose him as his own attendant. But from a servant he soon developed into an equally indispensable friend. He lived and worked by the side of Peter during his first foreign tour. Later he became the governor of Peter's son Alexis, whom he treated according to the Czar's wishes with ferocious brutality. Titles and honors were showered upon him. Emperor Leopold I. created him in 1705 a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire and Peter invested him two years later with the dignity of a Russian Prince. He died in 1729 as an exile in Siberia.

Mons, Anna.—She is mentioned by the author of the *Diary* unobtrusively as "Miss Mons" and was the first mistress of Czar Peter. Alexander Gordon, son of Patrick Gordon, calls her "a wine merchant's daughter, of Livonian extraction, exceeding beautiful and taking." When Peter returned from his western tour he went to visit her first before seeing his wife Eudoxia. He broke with Anna Mons after some time, however, accusing her of infidelity. She then married a diplomat.

Peter's attitude to women is well characterized in a contemporaneous diplomatic dispatch reporting a conversation the Czar had with the King of Denmark. "Ah, brother," the King is reported to have asked, "so I hear you have a mistress?" Whereupon the Czar is said to have answered: "Brother, my harlots do not cost me much but yours cost you millions of crowns which might be better spent."

Although he fixed the price of the favors bestowed on his soldiers in St. Petersburg at one kopeck for three kisses and in spite of the fact that after his first in-

interview with Martha Glueck, the later Empress Catherine, he enriched her with a solitary ducat, Peter was not altogether incapable of appreciating the more delicate charm of the company of women, and Russian feminine society was one of his first creations. On the whole however he preferred servant girls or similar types. Such was Catherine, his second wife, who had begun her career by wandering from camp to camp at the disposal of the soldiers and officers of her future consort.

The brother of Anna Mons, William, was accused later of having had relations with Catherine, and was executed. After the execution Peter passed the scaffold in a sledge together with Catherine and so close that her robes touched the body of her alleged lover. When the Czarine appeared unmoved by the sight, Peter had the severed head of William Mons preserved in alcohol placed in her apartments. Many years afterward a commission appointed to investigate the consumption of spirits in the imperial household discovered two vessels in the cellars of the castle containing the heads of a former mistress of Czar Peter and of William Mons, which preserved their pristine beauty. The heads were buried in the vaults of the castle by command of Catherine II.

NARISKIN (NARISHKIN), Leo Kirilowicz.—He was the uncle and devoted friend of the Czar and regent during Peter's western tour.

ROMADONOWSKY, Theodore.—One of Peter's favorites and famous for his cruelty. During the Czar's western tour he was charged with maintaining order in Moscow.

SCHACHIN (SCHEIN, SHEIN), Alexis.—A boyar of a distinguished family whose appointment as commander in chief of the army was intended to silence the complaints of the Nationalists that too many foreigners were employed in high offices. The quarrel between the Czar and Schachin at a banquet during the period of punishment of the Strelitz, page 38 of the Diary, ensued not without good reason. When it had become known in the summer of 1698 that the Czar was returning sooner than was generally expected, the surprised boyars held councils twice a day and under threat of the whip forced the merchants' clerks to make out accounts for them. The promotions of officers made by Schachin during the Czar's absence were all cancelled.

SOPHIA.—The third daughter of Czar Alexius and a half sister to Peter. Like her brother, Czar Theodore, she had had a relatively superior education under the guidance of learned monks from Kieff. Taking over the regency of Russia in 1682 she governed in the name of Peter and his infirm and half idiotic brother Ivan until 1689 when her attempt to dethrone Peter was defeated and she was forced to return to a monastery. In 1698 after the revolt of the Strelitz she was shorn as a nun and imprisoned for life-time as Sister Susannah. Some have described her as beautiful; extraordinary she surely was. De Neuville, a diplomatic agent sent to Moscow by the Marquis de Bethune, the French ambassador in Poland, wrote of Sophia in 1689: "Her mind and her great ability bear no relation to the deformity of her person, as she is immensibly fat, with a head as large as a bushel, hairs on her face and tumors on her legs, and at least forty years old (she was born

in 1657, Edit.). But in the same degree that her stature is broad, short and coarse, her mind is shrewd, unprejudiced and full of policy.—She is as acute, subtle, and shrewd in mind as she is broad, short and coarse in person. And though she has never read Machiavelli, nor learned anything about him, all his maxims come naturally to her.”

SOUVAROW (SUVAROV).—The cleric Souvarow, mentioned by the Diarist, was attached to one of the churches in the Kremlin and was the grandfather of the famous Marshal. His son Basil entered the army as a common soldier, rose to be an officer, and, subsequently to the rank of a General. The son of this general, the later field-marshal and prince Souvarow, was born in 1729.

SZEREMETOW (SHEREMETEV), Boris.—A friend of Peter and later one of his field-mmarshals through whom he met the girl Martha, who became his second wife and reigned as Catherine I. after Peter's death until her own in 1727.

TOLSTOY, Peter Andreevich.—First a supporter of Sophia, then one of Peter and one of his most skillful and unscrupulous tools. As Russian ambassador to the Porte he brought about the strangulation of a grand vizier and the removal by poison of a secretary. In 1717 he succeeded in bringing back the Czarewicz Alexis from Naples. Immediately after the death of Catherine I. he was banished to a convent where he died soon afterward.

